

Samaritanism

Revised and Enlarged:

OR, A/4. 4. 8.

TREATISE

AGAINST

Comprehending, Compounding or Tolerating

Several RELIGIONS

AND

Modes of WORSHIP

in the same Church.

DEMONSTRATING

The Piety, Equity, and Necessity of
putting the Laws in Execution against

Popish and Puritan Recusants;

From Reason, the Antient Church, and
their own Opinions and Practices.

L O N D O N,

Printed for Robert Clabell, and are to be sold at the Star,
and two Angels and Crown in Little Britain. 1669.

TO THE
READER.

THis is the Second time of
my coming unto You, true
Christian Reader : In the ^{2 Cor. 13.}
mouth of two or three
witnesses shall every word be esta-
blished, saith the Scripture, saith
Reason, saith Conscience, and saith
the Constitution of all, as well Hu-
mane, as Ecclesiastical Courts of Ju-
dicature. But when We are these
Witnesses against Our selves, when
the Arrows shot against us are Fea-
thered from our own wings, and
drawn from our own Quivers, as
I earnestly desire, so do I hope,
they, if any thing, may prick our
hard hearts to a true and unsained

Exhortation.

repentance! which God, of his infinite
mercy and grace, to this harraized
Church, grants unto the professed and
clandestine enemies thereof.

But as for that Chaff of empty
professions without sound fruit, those
shadows without substance; as they
come to nothing, so we esteeme them
as nothing worth; may as new at-
tempts to effect those pernicious ends,
the old being frustrated. 'Tis the
principles, where the Art, we were to
settle both our Judgements and Cha-
rity by, concerning such men. 'Tis
for a season they may, and perhaps
do suspend: but retaining and hiding
them, we are little or nothing se-
cured. 'Tis true, the sword worn
lately at the Belt openly and boldly
is now shrunk to a Dagger girt like
Ehuds close within their Hose; but is
never the less dangerous. Their
Drum beats not, nor their Trumpet
sounds not; as formerly, whereby we
were awakened and warned, as well
as assailed: but now we must fear
and suspect nothing amiss till the
deadly

To the Reader.

deadly stroke be given: And do we
wonder that the Lions mouth cruelly
but not successfully enough used they
should turn the other End and en-
deavour to benum us with the soft
flaps of their Fox tail; after this
moderation they give out they are for
Moderation, but it is only while
they cannot be extreme, as here-
after. They will be content with
a very little, but with this reserve:
that they shall be able to get more; and
least by demanding too much too early,
they quit their after game:
Moderation much like to the tem-
perance of those men, who will not
eat a large breakfast lest they should
spoil their dinner. They are not
much for Toleration, but Com-
prehension; and therefore they who
charge them, write against them in
what, mistaken. But what says their
Gloss on Nat for Toleration
of England, as now

Collected

established, Not for Tolerating any not
of the Presbyterian way. And their
Comprehension is to be suffered quietly
ly under the Protection of the Church
of England: as enjoy part of their
Possessions in their New Canaan
until having brought us to pay this
Tribute to them, they shall be able
quite to extirpate us Canaanites.

Farther, They give out notably,
They are for Episcopacy too. But
what saith their Gloriosa Ordinaria
upon such a bold Text? Yes, but not
Prelacy. They are for Bishops, i. e. ead
Alexandrian Bishops, such as Hieronic
speaks of long before his days, where
a Chief Presbyter was elected Bi-
shop. Will they stand to this? Yes,
That is, provided he be not perpetual,
but as a Prolocutor chosen for Or-
ders sake, to preside in Presbyte-
rian Assemblies. So that the whole
summe consisting of so many fair Cy-
phers amounts to thus much, They are
for Episcopacy, that is, Presbytery.

Next, this Moderate Party is for
Set

Comme[n]table.

Set Forms of Prayer also, and wonders any should think otherwise of them, seeing they commend them to men. But in steps the Scholiast with a That is; 1. In private, 2. To men of no Gifts, to Creeples, and such as want Crutches; not else. But in Churches they approve them with these Glosses. 1. If they may have the composing and Ordering them: 2. Provided Men that have Gifts (as all they have) may be left to their Liberty to speak the Language of Gods House: And that it be not imposed upon any, or required. And thus they are for a Liturgy, that is. So it be not used.

Fifthly, Being now a little becalm'd, they say, we do them wrong in reporting them such Enemies to the Rites and Ceremonies of Our Church: for they can better bear them. Yes Surely, as men do Pestilential Meteors, or Comets hanging in the Air, which they cannot pull down: and so long as they be not brought upon them; to Plague their Consciences

ences by their malignant Influences.
 They are therefore for Ceremonies:
 they are with their Practical Classe,
 For collecting them into one, and so
 they be in the same Classe of those
 who are to be read. Read at the time.
 They speak and preach much
 against Schism: but therefore
 who can justly charge them with any
 such matter? And truly their in-
 dexation herein cannot be any where
 parallel to what they teach their
 People. (But, a wonder by the way,
 by what honest title they become
 Their people) that they must not se-
 parate from us, nor can they Commu-
 nicate with us. That is, they seri-
 ously teach them to fulfil the old Pro-
 verb, viz. Neither to go to Church,
 nor stay at home. And lest this should
 be too gross a Contradiction; they must
 mean, They may enter the Church a-
 bout Sermon time; (if they can spare
 them from Conventicles) when the
 Council of Carthage suffer'd Jews
 and Gentiles to come into Christian
 Churches.

Council.
 Carthag. 4
 cap. 74.

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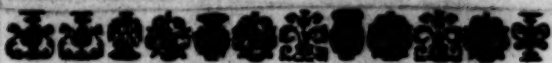
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This is the short account of their
spread and moderations; Now reasonable,
how Just, how Religious, the following
Treatise doth offer to thy Judgement,
Christian Reader. Read attentively
Judge impartially, conclude Righte-
ously, and Pray with me heartily for
the Souls of these Dissenters and De-
ceivers, that God would vouchsafe
to enlighten their eyes, affect right
their hearts, bring them to real Re-
pentance, and the Peace, and Unity of
the Church, or at least deliver it out
of their wicked hands. (Adgosaq 11111)

The



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be made by Puritans against what
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Certain Exceptions, which may
be made by Persons against what
has been delivered, answered.
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ERRATA.

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r. 100. p. 155. l. 15. r. *these*.

CHAP. VIII.

The Contents and Draughts of Bu-
diness, directly opposite to that kind of
Security of Conscience they argue for,
and as presents defects.
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CHAP.



THE
Non - Conformists
Self-Condernnation.

CH A P. I.

A Preparative Enquiry into the Nature of Humane and Ecclesiastical Societies, in general.

MA N being a Sociable Creature, according to the Observation of the Philosopher, and Common Experience; That humane, Societies ought to excel Herds and flocks of Cattel, is most reasonable to conclude. For, a Multitude is one thing, and a Society another; and differ as much as a Common, and a Commonwealth.

So that a multitude of men, though sober and wise, do not presently and necessarily constitute a Society, or Commonwealth; nor a multitude of Godly men, and good Christians, a Church: unless we betake our selves to that Invisible,

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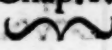
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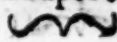
Chap. I. that Mystical Church, of which the vilest Heretique and most notorious Schismaticque, if they pretend to be true members, I know no possible means to confute them, or convince them of the contrary, so long as they see the tryall to be made by the visible Church, and their relation to it. Nor can the Godliest man alive give any probable proof that he is of the Invisible or Mystical Body of Christ, if he draws not his Argument from somewhat Visible. And therefore that Person or Party which is beaten out of it's Holds and apparent pretenses to be of Christs Flock, to betake himself to the vulgar and pitiful Subterfuges, that he is of Christs Mystical Body, is plainly to give all for lost here, and meerly to beg leave that he may at least think well of himself, though he can offer no tolerable grounds to another, which are not as questionable as what he would prove. For 'tis but to abuse our Saviours words, as too many do, in *S. Matthew*, to seek for relief from them; *Where two or three* *Mat. 18. 20.* *are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.* For first there are divers ways whereby Christ may be with men assembled in his Name, besides that of his Church. Again, Christs Promise supposes that such *Two or Three* are first of his Church, before he be in the midst of them.

But

But to return. As we must distinguish Chap. I.
between a Multitude and a Society, so
between a Society (such as it is) of
Beasts; and Men. And the definition
which *Bodin* gives of a Commonwealth;
doth sufficiently put a difference between
them, which is this. A Common-
wealth is a multitude of Families and
Common Matters administr'd by a
Supreme Power and Reason: For what
ever we may judge, there is in some bru-
tish Communities a Supreme Command;
and that is founded on Sense and natural
Instinct: And in Humane Societies there
is, and of necessity must be, a Supreme
Authority founded on Reason and Natural
Instinct. For as Common Sense pro-
ceedeth from Natural Instinct given to
Beasts; so Reason proceedeth from, or
is the Natural Instinct in Man: The Su-
preme act in Man being termed Reason;
and the highest in Beasts, Sense. Though
I confess the matter remains very difficult
still; to distinguish clearly the one from
the other; not in a definition (for that
is easie enough to frame) but in the ex-
ercise of Acts, whether They belong to,
or may be comprehended in the defini-
tion of Reason or no? Let others strain
their Wits to that purpose; our present
Subject calls us another way. And in the
first place to note freely the pretty, piti-
ful, and fine presumptions of divers en-

*Bodinus de
Rep. l. i. init.
Respublica
est Familia-
rum rerum-
que inter ip-
sas commu-
nium summa
potestate ac
ratione mo-
derata mul-
tudo.*

Chap. I.  quiers into the grounds and occasions of Humane Societies; which because, forsooth, taken from Reason at first, some Men have imagined that Natural Instinct in Man was not principal in the Constitution of Commonwealths. Some therefore have wittily (at least as they suppose) said, That necessity was the cause why men combined together in one: Necessity of heat drove divers stragling Men to the same fire; and meeting there, they took up several Discourses and Counsels for their common Welfare. Others more seriously, if not more wisely, are of opinion, That self-defence and preservation against common Adversaries impelled many persons to associate together, and to elect some principal Defender of their Persons, and Director of their Affairs; But they consider not, nor give any account how such Enemies to some came first to conspire into such a powerful Society, as to be able to offend others. Was this occasioned likewise from fear of others? If so, I will demand perpetually, How came those others so together? And at length it must of necessity be answered, From some other cause, and that cause must be at length, Natural Reason, Justice, and Law; whereby, according to Man, some were obliged to Subjection, as some had right of Dominion.

minion. Now what manner of Do Chap. 1.
minion that was, I leave to be inquired into. 

Yet withal I cannot but smile a little at the boldness and vain presumption of such who passing over the most visible original of Government, and what *de facto* it first was, (which certainly in all reason must needs be the most natural way of making out the truth) do betake themselves to the uncertain mazes and labyrinths of humane imagination; which we find to be swayed and bribed to argue and conclude according to Self-interest, and particular cases of their own. Thus we read the Assertors of the *Germane* Empire to strain their Reasons to prove the Constitution of that Government according to the famous Golden Bull of *Charles* the Fourth, Emperor, to be most perfect, and natural. But Experience sheweth us plainly, that nothing hath divided, and consequently weakn'd more that once most potent and flourishing Nation, than those Immunities and Laws have; and render'd the Supreme Power so uncertain and obscure, that 'tis an hard matter to find where it is seated; or, if so, to find that to be a Monarchy, and not a Commonwealth, or at least a Combination of Monarchies and Commonwealths.

The like course hath *Constantine* taken


Chap. I. in his description of the State of *Venice*,
 (for that too must be held to be most
 natural) bending his Wits to draw the
 Law and course of Nature to a conformi-
 ty to his reason, and his reason to the con-
 dition of that Commonwealth.

The same course hath *Bellarmino*, and
 other (especially Jesuitical) Authors of
 the Church of *Rome*, followed in his Pre-
 vious Controversies to his Disputations of
 the Power, and Regiment of the Pope,
 contending hard, that the Government is
 most Reasonable and Christian, which
 suits best with the Actual Power of the
Romane Bishop and Clergy. And some
 have proceeded to that degree of admi-
 ration of that Form, that they have ven-
 tured to affirm, That Christ had not done
 wisely, if he had not ordained and dispo-
 sed matters just as they now stand among
 them. And are not there to be found a-
 mongst us, who have delivered some ex-
 pressions in behalf of the Presbytery much
 of the same strain?

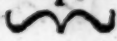
And this way of instances, rather than
 following the clue of his own most rati-
 onal Wit, was that which caused the Phi-
 losopher *Aristotle* to be so inconstant to
 himself in his Politicks. For when he
 handled the case abstractly, he judged ex-
 cellently of the true nature of Govern-
 ment, and the most natural Government.
 But then, having before his eyes what
 great

great offence he must necessarily give to Chap. D
his Country of *Grace*, which abounded
with several Policies of a strange nature;
he found it requisite to strain his Leather
to their Lacks. Especially considering,
that if those Nations, who were for Wit
and Learning, the most eminent of all the
World, should distelish his Schemes (as
in all probability they would, as they
disagreed from their plat-forms) it might
prove an incurable prejudice to his Works.
For, as it is seen in Religion, it happens
in Civil Policies too, that the more it is
with acuteness and subtilty penetrated,
and discussed, the more corrupt and dege-
nerate it is in the use and practice.

For that there is a Government of
Divine appointment, as well in Secular
as Religious Societies, is not to be much
doubted of; and that all *in specie* cannot
be such, is evident from the variety and
contrariety of them: For the voice of
God is either that innate direction, and
natural, and indeliberate election and
inclination to which Men by a tacite uni-
versal consent do tend, and plainly is to
one kind of Political Government only,
and not indifferently to any, as may ap-
pear by instances to be given from all
people, whose first Governors were al-
ways Monarchs, without exception. For
that after a State hath for a long time
been founded and selcted, Men out of se-

Chap. I.  veral regards and motives set their Wits on work, and changed the same, not to that Form which really was best but best pleased them, cannot prejudice the title it hath to be Divine and Natural: for as much as we see that nothing is so natural or indisputably divine, but it may be, and hath been altered, and thwarted by the bold and unquiet Wits of Men; and no where are such alterations oftner to be found than where Wit and Learning most flourish; For from an opinion these breed in men, are they tempted to despise the simplicity, and direct path of Natural reason to seek more fine and curious ways of administering the common Interest; Or, the voice of God is that Scriptural word of God which gives, neither precedent nor rule, nor precept for above one Government in either of the Politicks.

Some suppose to moderate and compound the matter by affirming, that Government in general is of Divine Institution, but God hath left it to the liberty of Men to make choice of one *Species* or kind of Government, according as it shall suite best with the *Genius* and Humours of the people to be governed. But against this I have more to object than may be proper for this occasion. I shall therefore demand first, By what Rules of Reason or Philosophy such Men proceed? for, hitherto in other things it was never heard of

of that God should positively create or Chap. I.
ordain a thing in the Genus or Species, 
and so that the *Individuum* under them
should take its being and subsist; when as,
what ever Being is in the Genus or Kind is
owing to the Particular subsisting by it self.
For more plainness: Can we say, that
God first made a living Creature in general,
and from thence sprang Man and
Beast; or an Horse, and *Socrates*? Did
he not rather first of all create, this
Man in particular? and so Humane Nature
had its original specifical: and first
create this Individual Beast, and so from
thence that nature of Animals took its
denomination and being? And thus was
it in the Institution of Governments. God
cannot rationally, nor truly be said to
make Government in general, or ordain
it, and not first institute some one particular
Government, from whence the like
might be termed Divine, and the Species it
self such.

Consider we farther, how more than ridiculous
it were that Divine Institution should be of
such immense extent and capacity, as that it
were impossible for the boldest and wildest
wit of Man to invent such a form as should
not be Divine? Which must of necessity follow,
or the quite contrary, that no Government is
of Divine appointment *in specie*: Both
which are equally and utterly false and
absurd.

Chap. 1

absurd. The former, in that it makes Divine Right like the fabulous fiction of Poets concerning Victory between two Armies engaging, hanging in the Air, and hovering over mens heads, until the main stroke be struck, and Men have voted especially for one sort of Government, and then forthwith down comes Divine Right again, and *Laureates* the head of a Victorious Discipline or State-model. And to hold that no Government is of Divine Original, is to destroy all Right of Rule; and, as some enemies to Mankind have with impudence and stupidity proportionable (even while they seek nothing so much as to appear transcendent) to reduce all kinds and actual possession of Empire to the base principle of Beasts, strength and force; and This it is, as well in Justice as Act, who can catch it. Such a Philosopher indeed or Gladiator rather, as this (and, as Reason and Religion now goes, such an one is no small fool amongst us) deserves to have the edge of his acute wit turned against him, and to be disputed with, as Men are wont to do with his fellow beasts destructive to Mankind, with a Kennel of hounds, spears, and staves.

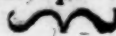
But I return to demand further, Whether that Charter is extant, and to whom it properly and by divine intention pertains, that Men may chose what Government

ment they please? That which God would have, is sufficiently made known unto us from the nature and form of that which by his special Providence first, and only appeared for hundreds of years in the World. Those which succeeded and excluded the Primitive, were the effect of passions principaly: But no sooner had Lust, Interest, and Error caused men to introduce their own devices, but instantly Nature and Scripture were drawn to assert and sustain them; as Bastards, left in distress and helpless, are put to honest Women to Nurse and bring up.

I know very well, and readily grant that all sorts of Governments have somewhat Divine in them; but this they have not as several sorts, nor as such Forms, but in respect of the matter they are concerned in, which principaly is that truly Divine Law, Justice; which as to the matter of it, may as realy, though not so regularly, be administred in one kind, as another.

But he that would faithfully and successively settle his judgement in the true and genuine kind of Government, whether Ecclesiastical or Civil, ought not to proceed in that long, tedious, and most uncertain way of Mens minds and Interests, of enquiring, which of all seems most reasonable, most equal, most holy, and beneficial to the ends of all Rule;

Chap. I.



Gerson de
Consolatione
Theologiae.
Prof. 2.

Guilielm.
Parisens.
De legibus.
cap. 28.

Rule; and conclude that to be so, which seems to his understanding, to be blessed most plentifully with these; but must impartially and sincerely enquire after the *Fact* immediately; which of all these have the fairest and clearest proofs of being *de facto* instituted of God. For, a quite contrary method may be observed in the Will and Laws of Men, and of God: Man chooseth and decrees a thing because it is good and laudable; but on the contrary, because God wills and ordains a thing, therefore it is good of necessity. According as Gerson hath excellently observed, *Deus non ideo vult res ad extra fieri quia bonae sunt, quemadmodum movetur humana voluntas ex objectione boni, vel veri vel apparentis. Est e contra potius, quod ideo res ad extra bonae sunt, quia Deus vult eas tales esse: Ideoque si vellet eas vel non esse, vel aliter esse, id quod jam bonum esset, &c.* Thus he, And to the same purpose Guilielmus Parisiensis writeth, *Non decet creatorem, nec Possibile est Creatori facere nisi convenientissimè, quod facit: nec decet, aut possibile est praeferre minus conveniens convenientiori. i. e. It becometh not the Creatour, nor is it possible for the Creatour to do otherwise than most aptly, what he doth: Nor is it possible he should prefer a less convenience before a greater.* For instance, We all, or mostly agree, that the Parts of Man's body are placed most

most aptly for use and service of the whole, and most beautifully for ornament of the same. Yet supposing that it had been the will of God to have set the Nose of Man behind him, his Eyes in his Brest, his Ears on the Crown of his Head, and his Mouth on the Navel of his Belly; without dispute this had been the most wise, beautiful, and useful order. In like manner, had it seemed good to God to cast Civil and Church-Government into any other shape, form, or condition than actually he hath, it were not to be questioned'd but it would be most perfect and excellent. From all which (ending this Chapter) I infer these Conclusions as certain and pious:

First, That both Politicks have a Government especially Divine; Seeing first according to the most certain Logick and Reason, Nothing can be in the Genus but is in Each of the Species, so that if Government in General be Divine, of necessity every Species must be so: which is more than any dare affirm.

Secondly, I conclude, That Government so Divine is not to be altered under specious pretexts, and Humane ratiocinations and presumptions offering themselves, that another sort would serve the ends of Community better: For the fault may be, and most commonly is, in the knottiness and cross-grain'dness of the piece

Chap. I. piece of Wood, and not in the Tool, or Artificer. And more reasonable it is divers times, the People should be changed, than their Laws or Government; though the contrary is commonly seen, that when they offend in untractableness, they cast off the accusation from themselves, by chastising the Laws, controverting Titles, and quarreling at the imperfections and inconveniences of that Government they live under, as not good enough for them. For I stick not to grant but as the common sort may be, and have of late especially been dealt with, and imposed upon, by unsound and flattering Doctrines, and golden Provinces of future felicity, and especially greater Christian Liberty under some other forms, a Government may be devised both in Church and State which may sute better with such a distemper'd Genius of the People. But that argues little, that therefore such a Government ought to be, but much, that the People ought not so to be.

CHAP. II.

Chap. II.


A Second General Preparation to the determining the Question, by removing vulgar mistakes concerning Tyranny, Antichristianism, Christian Liberty, Extremes, and Moderation, Peace, Superstition: and that Puritans are not for Moderation.

IT is too plainly seen, that words, which at first were instituted to serve Man's understanding, and guide it into the knowledge of things, do command, pervert, and hurry it into many mistakes and errors: Or perhaps, to speak more properly, the vulgar use corrupting them causeth this mischief. And hence it is that an opprobrious name maliciously or ignorantly given, and commonly applied is abundantly sufficient to captivate ordinary Minds into an evil opinion of things undeservedly. Call therefore a Government Tyrannical, Antichristian, Extreme, Immoderate, and against Christian Liberty; this with the Common sort, proves such a Government ought not to be endured, though it be not at all proved that such terms properly belong to it, nor indeed

Chap. 2. indeed such persons who are so liberal of their ill language know well what they say, or whereof they affirm. Let us endeavour then to come very briefly to a true notion of some of them.

Concerning Tyranny, a grand and current mistake there is, that it is properly a *Species* or kind of Government; which is true, indeed if it be taken in the Ancientest, not Modern sense, for the same with Monarchy, or the Government of One. But modern *Demagogues* have so confounded and corrupted the Doctrine of Government, that not in the Ancient and Innocent sense, absolute Monarchy is Tyranny, and a King a Tyrant, but in the vulgar and formidable notion and acception of Tyranny, Monarchy absolute is with them Tyranny, and he that rules alone without being accountable to others, a Tyrant: which is altogether as true as the other Extreme which they swallow with greatest credulity, viz. That all Government administered by Many presently commences Liberty. And hence it is, that a King without depending on the Laws, some as call themselves Protectors of the Laws, make no doubt to declare a Tyrant, because in truth he may be so. And the Ecclesiastical Power dispersed and exercised by one in his Circuit, yet not without the concurrence and advice of

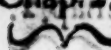
of others, is confidently termed Tyrannical, but by many, Free, and Intrinsick; as *Hinderson* pleased to speak: of which all is begg'd, nothing proved. Chap. 2.

Aristotle, when he said That Monarchy easily degenerates into Tyranny, did not say or mean that it was so in its own nature: Neither did he say *Polycracie* did not, nor could fall into the same. For he that will be at the small pains to weigh the matter sincerely, shall easily perceive that Tyranny is no Government of it self, but the corruption of Government. And Liberty is no more essential to *Aristocracie*, or such like Government, constituted of many Rulers, than to *Monarchy*; and that dreadful thing, called Arbitrary Power, altogether as incident to the Rule of many, as when One alone has the Supreme Power: Nay, there must of necessity be an Arbitrary Power, and Actually is, in all Commonwealths; as hath been Irrefragably Demonstrated by others already, who are not of the *Clergy*, who are often Censured, for driving matters of this nature too high. For it is impossible any Commonwealth should subsist, or continue without a Supreme Absolute Power; and where ever this is, there is that we call Arbitrary Power. Many People indeed, observing the evils of this, have so Framed

Anarchy or mixed Monarchy.

C

their

Chap. 2. their Government, and Constituted
 Governours as to prevent the same; and have almost infinitely multiplied Governours, and Inspectors over Governours, and Check over Check, but could never find success answerable; the last Remedy of all therefore against Courts, Princes, and Greatest Councils, have been to entitle the People in Gross, to take account of such Irregularities: but such a remedy, as could never so much as take place, for as much as never did, or can the People concur Universally to such Ends but the *Major*, or more Active, and bulke part carried the name of all, which commonly is a piece of as great injustice, and injury, as any they would cure by such jealous Vigilancy: and if it could be done, Were not this an Arbitrary a Proceeding, as the very First of all?

*Populum
 autem non
 omnem co-
 tum multi-
 tudinis, sed
 eorum juris
 consensu et
 utilitatis
 communione
 sociatum esse
 determinat.*

Baxter's
 Thesis of
 Government
 p. 106.

So profound and wise a Doctor of State is he that writes thus boldly, Governours are some limited, and some De facto unlimited. The Unlimited are Tyrants, and have no right to that unlimited Government. A shallow, but notorious piece of Sedition. For there is no Nation in which the Governours are not Unlimited: But I doubt not but the Mans mind ran altogether on Monarchical Government, at the writing hereof: and never dream'd that his Po-

firio

sition made against States, no less than **Chap. 2.**
Monarchies: the vanity of which his
 mistake doth thus appear.

There is, and must be in all Govern- *Scipio. Cice-*
 ment an Absolute, and Arbitrary Power. *ronianus a-*
 Now, that, when this Supremest Power *put Angu-*
 is vested in One, it must presently be *stinum de*
 called a Tyranny; when in many, Li- *Civitate Dei.*
 berty, is a miserable cheat of the Com- *lib. 2. cap. 11.*
 mon-people by ambitious, and discon-
 tented persons, seeking the advance-
 ment of themselves, by the Oppression
 of others. For, as the Apostle in ano-
 ther Case hath it; *Thou art inexcusable,* *Rom. 2. 1.*
O man, whosoever thou art, that judgest;
for wherein thou judgest another, thou con-
demnest thy self; for thou that judgest, dost
the same things. So that if it be unjust
for One who is Supreme, to do such a
thing towards such as are Subject to him,
it is unjust for Many so to do; and if it
be Tyrannical for Him, it is Tyrannical
for Many, even in a Senate. For, what
is Tyranny, but an excessive use, or ex-
ercise of Power, contrary to the Law
of Reason and Justice? So that Tyranny
being a moral vice contrary to Ju-
stice, doth not consist in the abundance
of Power, but in the abuse: as other
moral Vices do not consist in full
power to offend, but in the ill use of
such Power. For, as Drunkenness con-
sisteth not in having plenty of Wine,

Chap. I. nor Gluttony in having choice and command of rich and various Fare (and so in other things) but in taking too liberally, and inordinately of them: So Tyranny is not the uncontrollableness of Power in One Person or more, but the unreasonable and immoderate use, according to Power. According to the best description given by *Aristotle* himself of Tyranny, which is, that, *It is the Excess of true Political Government.* And after declares what he means by [παρὰ μέτρον] Excess, viz. That when one or more Govern according to the Common good, there is a true Political Government, but such are Tyrannical which rule to the Private good of One, or of a Few, or of the People. So that we see, according to the Philosopher, Tyranny may equally run through all kinds of Governments, as well as Monarchy: contrary to the affected mistake of many Modern Politicians especially. For he indeed is a Tyrant that thus carries himself, and that Council is Tyrannical, yea, that People is Tyrannical, which contrary to the Law of Reason Invadereth, and Mutilateth the Rights of Dominion belonging to their Governors, which may be their Property as justly, and reasonably as any Goods, or Possessions belonging to Subjects, may be so termed, in respect of them. A thing which

Τύραννις
ἔστι παρὰ
μέτρον τῶν
ἐν ἑαυτῷ Πολι-
τευμάτων—
αἱ δὲ πρὸς
τὸ ἴδιον ἢ τῷ
ἐνός, ἢ τῶν
ὀλίγων, ἢ
τῷ πλεόντι,
παρεκβά-
σεις. *Aristot.*
l. 3. c. 4. 5.

Chap. 2.

which if it were impartially, and conscionably considered, me-thinks People would be more modest than to think all those Privileges and Liberties, they can by flattery craft or taking advantage of necessities into which their Governours may be brought, gain to themselves, lawful spoil; or indeed, though at first sight they may appear so, profitable for themselves: For suppose we, that a people studious of Liberty, should not only procure a Law that they should be free from all contributions to common good but what voluntarily they should please to give, but likewise, such a Law, that they should never be compelled (which we vulgarly, and corruptly call Pressed) to the Wars; this surely would seem a glorious Liberty, and benefit to the common sort, but really would in short time prove the ruine of the whole. There is such an Immunity claimed by the Commons of the Confederate Netherlands; which hath endangered, and certainly, had not the Governours found out some pretty tricks to elude it, had unavoidably brought those Commonwealths to nothing. *S. Austin* in his Book of the City of God, tells us, That *Scipio* in *Tully* calls an unjust King a Tyrant; and unjust Nobles, Governing, a Faction; and speaking of the excess of Popular Government, to that, saith he, *Nomen non reperit, nisi ut*

August. De Civit. Dei. l. 2. c. 21. 'Ου γὰρ ἔς ἀνθρώποι νόμους τίθενται τὸ ἔνλογον ἀπλῶς ἔχον· οὐ καὶ πάντες φαυλόμηνον ἀλλ' ἐνία καὶ δοκεῖ κομῆσαι γελῶσια τῶν ἀρετῶν.
Plutarch, De serâ Numinis Viad. & Psal. 94 20.

Chap. 2. *etiam & ipsum Tyrannum vocaret, i. e.*
 He could find no name for them, but Tyrants also : Neither have such just excuse, because perhaps they have a Law on their side. For the Law it self, may have been extorted; and, if freely Enacted, yet unjust in it self; as that we last mentioned; and that Law of which the *Psalmist* speaketh, *framing mischief*; and that Law, which many vehemently plead for in Church-Discipline, as that wherein consisteth (as they fondly, and falsely imagine, or perhaps would seem to believe rather) Christian Liberty, That every man should do as he pleases, in things so Indifferent that they are not under any Precept or Prohibition of Gods Word: For this would inevitably produce differences; and differences, in such inconsiderable matters, will infallibly proceed to Animosities and Divisions in greater matters, and these terminate in the overthrow of all Discipline, or Government: I say, All Discipline. Now there is a Discipline which Mr. *Beza* held to be a third Essential part of a true Church, if we believe Mr. *Cartwright*, relating his opinion, or his own: Which is, That matters of Discipline, and kind of Government, are not to be distinguished from matters necessary to Salvation and Faith: So that however they seem to be of this destructive

Cartwright
in Second
Reply, p. 53.
Id. First Re-
ply p. 14.

destructive Opinion (and indeed, they Chap. 2.
often and plainly affirm so much) yet they be no longer of it, than till such time as the Power be in their own hands : just as the Miller stops the course of the Waters, not that he is absolutely against Rivers, what ever he may seem to be, but till he shall find it necessary for his own Gritt. Now to return to the Application of what we have said, concerning Tyranny, which our Church-Government is commonly, and boldly charged with by Sectaries, and particularly, in their Synodical Letters to Transmarine Churches; They may learn at Length, that no Government in its Nature is Tyrannical, but the evil Administration of any Government makes any so, though Democratical. For it is not necessary, that the *Persian, Turkish, or Tartarian Government* should be Tyrannical, more than That of *Venice*, or of the *United Provinces* : as an ingenious Republican Author hath observed, and doth confess, speaking of the Government of the East-Indian Kings, thus, *Notwithstanding the Rule of the Kings of Java may seem to be Tyrannical, yet they so politically demean themselves according to the condition of that Nation, that any, whose heart is not made of horn, — may easily learn, how compendiously a way of Governing this is, for Kings to Rule well, and Subjects to obey better.* For


Quamvis Regum in Java videatur Tyrannicum imperium, tamen id ita pro conditione gentis suae politice gerunt ut aliquis cui non corneae fibra est, — satis, — facilius Boninus De Medicinis Indorum.

Chap. 2. these have as Absolute and Arbitrary Dominion as they. 'Tis true, these have more Moderate and Favourable Laws of Ruling than They: But who shall constrain them to observe them, if they please to break them? The People? So may the People bring those Barbarous Kings to more equal dealing, if they can, as well as the other. If therefore Many in Authority, whether Civil or Ecclesiastical do the same things, and have as much Power as One; the Tyranny of this differs from the Tyranny of them, just as much as a pound of Lead doth from a pound of Feathers; which is no small matter with vulgar Judges.

From whence plainly appears the dull error, and wicked use men have made of the same, to exclaim against Episcopal Government for no other visible cause, but that it draweth neerer to the nature of Monarchy. For what ever of Tyranny it hath in it, is chiefly seen in the Lenity of it, and not Rigour. I say the Lenity, and Remissness, I had like to have added Carelessness and Timidity to offend any; which, doing as much as comes to nothing, hath notably emboldened men to conspire against Bishops doing any thing, and confirmed some in an opinion that they ought to do nothing, unless what every man in his

his private brest shall have first decreed **Chap. 2.**
 to be lawful. Which, if any thing, is
 to play the Tyrant over our Superiours:
 as a Canon of the Apostles doth expressly
 affirm, Authentically enough against
 such dissatisfied persons as now adays
 would bear all down, to Boie them-
 selves up; saying, *If any Presbyter or* Εἰ τις
Priest despising his own Bishop, shall as- Πρεσβύτε-
semble apart, and erect another Altar ᾧ, ἑτα-
[or place and manner of worship] be θεοῦ ἑοῦς
ing not able to convilt his Bishop of any τῷ ἰδίῳ ὀμι-
impiety or injustice, let him be cut off, συνάγῃ. καὶ
as an ambitious person. For he is a Ty- ἀποστασείον
rant, &c. But if the Presbyterian ac- ἔπειτα πλεῖν
 culations of Tyranny in Bishops be to μολῇ κα-
 be heard, when it amounts to no παρακα-
 more than that they are Governed by τῷ ἐπισκό-
 them, and are required to be sub- πῳ ἐν ᾧ
 ject many times against their Wills, βέβηκα καὶ δι-
 Interests, and Designs, who can long αμασσομένη
 be Innocent? I am sure not them- διὰ τὴν ὁ-
 selves. φίλαρχον.
Τύραννον.
καὶ ἑτέρους.
Cano Apo-
stol. 31.

Therefore, until Reformers of Go-
 vernments deny the power to them-
 selves which they deny to others,
 and the exercise thereof; let them
 accustom their mouths to more in-
 genuous and sincere language, and ei-
 ther forbear to traduce others with
 that ignominious term, or begin to
 hallow it by their profession and pra-
 ctice. For 'tis but changing the singu-
 lar

for Moderation, their work is well Chap. 2.
 nigh done, with inconsiderate Judges. 
 And it is worth the while to hear with
 what confidence they to that end point
 out their own praises, thus, *We settle* *A Mystery of*
mens judgements upon most firm and solid *Godliness*
principles leading to peace and holiness, *and no Cab-*
leading them through that safe and middle *bala, p. 9.*
way that is equally distant from all those
extremes men have run into in their hearts,
about some points of Religion, as particu-
larly in the points now in difference amongst
us: we teach our people, that though they
cannot conform to the Church without, yet
they cannot separate from it without sin.
 Yet there is one thing notoriously
 wanting in such their teachings, viz.
 to shew how these two can possibly
 stand together, and how it is not a con-
 tradiction (many of which their fair-
 fac'd writings fall into, while they
 condemn both separation from us, and
 communion with us) neither to sepa-
 rate nor Communicate. This is indeed
 a new and a notable piece of Modera-
 tion if we mark it well, and take it in
 the Juggling sense; but in the Logici-
 ans and sounder sense, a making Con-
 tradictions true. For, (notwithstand-
 ing the sundry binding shifts are com-
 monly) to hold that there is no ma-
 terial cause of separation, and yet not
 to Communicate, is to be unavoidable
 Schis-

Chap. 2. Schismatiques. And to declare in such Cases, Men may, and they may not Communicate, what can we call it? But farther, How do these men settle Mens judgements? with what colour can they utter such commendatory words, which they are as incapable of as any men alive? Have they not put a thousand scruples, and impertinent and needless doubts into mens heads, which they never would have so much as dream'd on, but by their suggestions and inculcations? Have they not cast almost infinite stumbling blocks before the poor and simpler peoples feet, that they would never have (and better a thousand times they had never) stuck at but for them? So that now, they scarce know what to do, or whither to turn them for snares laid to intangle their Consciences by Presbyterians. And call they this settling mens Consciences? It bears indeed some true proportion with their bragging promise, of settling the Kingdom, when they were in the direct way to overturn it: as it in truth fell out. But let us see what is Moderation, and consequently Extremities, according to vulgar acception. After this manner then, Moderation is the same in effect with the art of cleaving of Billets, cutting or chopping a thing in the middle, and dividing the live Child

Child into two equal parts, between Chap. 2.

the unjust pretender, and the true Mother, without any due consideration of the cause it self, in justice, but the peace of different Parties. For as *Plutarch* observeth, *Περὶ ἀνδραποῦ ἀιονιδὸς καὶ παῦλον, ἡδὲ ἐστὶ μέτερον ὕμνος.* *Wish Fools and Plutarch in Knaves there is no such thing as the Sympsiac. Mean, as to the Thing.* But if Men be

extremely distant from, or opposite to a thing or person, then presently do they accuse the same of Extremes, not considering that it is in the power of any Man to declare and denominate a thing extreme, by his only act of extremely departing from it; as easily as it is in his power by turning himself about, to cause a thing to stand to the left or right hand. If then to reconcile Matters and come to a Mediocrity, we shall think it fit to clap into the middle, and give one of the Dissenters one part, and another the other; we shall quickly dispatch and destroy all Vertue, all Religion, and all Justice, in pretending fairly, and intending foully to conserve them. But Truth, (as *Plutarch* wisely noted) is to be sought out *Διὰ ἀρετῆς ἢ διὰ τῆς ἐναντίας κακίας, i. e. Plutarch. de Adulatore.* for Vertue's sake, not for the extreme vice: Unless therefore Men shall first agree upon a rule and standard to measure opinions and actions, and accusations,


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 tions,

Chap. 2. tions, besides what is famed or defamed for Extreme, it is vain and foolish to talk of Moderation or extreme. For, had our Ancestors held only to that kind of trial, and accommodating differences either in State or Church; we had had neither Justice, nor Religion, to strive or contend about at present; or, at least, that far from the true. For first, *Samaritanism* was the first, and most Authentick Precedent we meet with, of such a Moderation as is now contended for. It was a composition of *Gentilism* and *Judaism*: And the *Samaritans*, or the people inhabiting those parts where *Samaria* was, were very early in this contrivance and Project, to destroy the true *Israelitish* worship. For first, *Jereboam*, who made a defection from the house of *David*, and true Religion, is not thought to have changed quite the worship of the True God of *Israel*, but would have God worshipped by his two Calves, a moderate way certainly to deceive the people into a new Religion. This, before *Samaria* was built, and the Captivity. Afterward a *Miscellaneous* people possessing that Country at the appointment of *Salmaneser*, they moderated again, and made a Medlie of *Judaism* and *Heathenism*; as we read in the book of the Kings. And at the
Return

Return of the Children of *Judah* from Chap. 2.
 the *Babylonish* Captivity, their humour
 of confounding Religions came on them *2 King ch. 17*
 again, and with all the best arguments
 now in great use, and estimation they
 offered an agreement with the *Jews*,
 with the great advantages of Peace and
 Reconciliation, and their assistance in
 building the House of God together
 with an intimation of the great danger
 and damage like to befall them, if their
 brotherly offers were not accepted,
 which accordingly did really hinder and
 afflict the *Jews*: as we read in *Ezra. Ezra 4.*
 And in following ages they ceased not
 to practise the same art of Moderation,
 as *Josephus* writes at large. For when *Josephus*
 ever the Jewish Church (saith he) had *Ant. Jud.*
 the power in their hands, subdued *L. 12. c. 7.*
 their enemies, and their Religion flour-
 ished, the *Samaritans* addressed them-
 selves to them in right gentle and bro-
 therlywise, offering their service to
 them, desiring union, seeking to become
 one people with them, telling them they
 were their brethren, and that they wor-
 shipped the same God with them, they
 were of the same Religion with them,
 with some small and light differences:
 and so colloqued with them. But then
 on the contrary, when they were under
 Persecution and in extremity (as in
Antiochus his days) then they told an-
 other

Chap. I. other tale, and said they were altogether another people, they had no relation to them, or kindness for their Religion; For they were *Persians* by extraction, and would not own the *Jews*. This was their Moderation, and of a Blood with our moderate men in these days; who in times of our greatest persecutions will have nothing to do with us: but in their low Estate, offer such plausible speeches as these. Again *Judaism* may be said to be a Mean between *Mahometism* and *Christianism*; *Popery* a Mean between *Judaism* and *Socinianism*: Again, the *Reformation* a Mean between *Papism* and *Socinianism*; and the *English Reformation*, a Mean between *Popery* and *Puritanism*. And, if we must be forced to farther Moderation still, *Independency* will be found a Mean between *Presbyterism* and *Episcopal Government*, as *Presbyterism* is a Mean between *Episcopacy* and *Independency*; and *Independency* a Mean between *Presbtery* and *Anabaptism*, and *Anabaptism* a Mean between *Independency* and *Quakerism*; and so on, till the wit of Man shall be able to invent no more Extreams; which whether that will ever be, I know not. Now would I demand, (if it were lawful.) Which of all these is truly eligible for the Mean sake? and and when that shall be pitched on and chosen,

chosen, Upon what account and ground? Chap. 2.
Must it not be rather because of some
special Vertue proper to it  coming
neerer to that we constitute and pro-
pound to our selves, as a certain Rule
and Principle, than for that it stands be-
tween two Extremes, which is common
also to that Religion which we reject?

In the reign of Zeno the Emperor of *Evagrius*
Constantinople about the year 475 there *Hist. Eccles.*
sprang up a Sect of Christians called *l. 3 c. 14 &*
Pacificantes, or *Peace-makers*, who would *cap. 30.*
undertake to compound differences be- *Funcius*
tween the *Eutychians* and *Catholiques*, *Comment.*
but were utterly rejected as writeth *Chronolog.*
Evagrius, and *Funcius*. And 'tis evident *l. 3. An. 620.*

by Antiquity, that by the fair face of
Mediocrity the *Arians* under *Constantius*
the Emperor prospered to the couenage
of the simpler, and overthrow of the
wiser *Catholiques*. But how well *Hilary*
thought of this method of Pacification
and quieting stirs in the Church, these his
words to *Constantius* plainly testifie: *Hac*
ille pater tuus capitalis hominum hostis do- *Hilarius*
cuit, vincere sine contumaciâ, jugulare sine *contra*
gladio, persequi sine infamiâ, odire sine *Constant.*
suspicione, mentiri sine intelligentiâ, profi-
teri sine fide, blandiri sine bonitate, agere
quod velis, nec manifestare quæ velis, i. e.
This your Father, the mortal Enemy to
man, taught you, to Conquer without
Fierceness, to Stab without a Sword, to

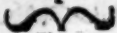
D

make

Chap. 2. *make Profession and yet have no Faith, to flatter without goodnes, to obtain your will, and yet not to discover your will. Thus he : And Prosper excellently. Contrariorum permixtio meliorum defectus est. Quia cum virtus vitium recipit non a vitio sed*

Prosper Contra Collationem, c. 38. a virtute disceditur, i. e. The mixture of Contrary things is the decay of the better : because when virtue admits vice, men depart not from vice, but virtue. And this

certainly and generally do they, who contend for Moderation, after so many, and great Instances, as may already be given of their condescensions and concessions ; from whom still boldly and afresh more Moderation is exacted, as if nothing had been done to seek their Peace and good Opinion ; whose immodesty and immoderateness will not suffer them to rest, so long as they have any hope left them to obtain their Ends, under the specious pretext of Moderation. For if what, and as often as, they demand, be granted ; upon that account, they must of necessity, in time (and that not long) exhaust and quite destroy them insensibly : If they be not gratified in this, so fair and Popular request ; then will they shrewdly endanger their Reputation and Interest, by bringing them under the Odium and Infamy with the Multitude, for Persons in Extremes, and who will yield nothing

thing for Peace and Unities sake. (But Chap. 20
 for my own particular, I had rather be 
 Robbed than Cheated; and suffer the
 same loss by open violence and ag-
 gressions, than by fair frauds: by which
 I must believe at the same time I am dealt
 Friendly, and Equally with.

But let the matter be no longer dis-
 puted in general, but let us examine
 the practice of these Comprehenders,
 and then judge, who pleases, of their
 equity and integrity herein. The first
 Article of their Specious Bill of Com-
 prehension, which we have seen, is thus
 with great Artifice, but with real ex-
 treme destructiveness to the present
 constitution of our Church, propounded
 as an Expedient of Reconciliation: *Such
 who are Ordained by Presbyters shall come
 to the Bishop, and receive Legal Imposition
 of hands, before they be admitted to the Of-
 fice of a Minister, or exercise of their
 Function:* This is as neer their own
 phrase as my best remembrance can bring
 their certain sense. And there are not
 wanting Persons of Excellent worth,
 Gravity, and Dignity in Another Faculty
 (to which it were heartily wished they
 would wisely and judiciously confine
 themselves, and not Prejudge what they
 declare themselves to be but meanly
 versed in; by the ready Suffrage at least
 (if that be all) they give to this de-
 D 2 vice)

Chap. 2. vice) who lean too favourably or perhaps partially, to them. A Device as old almost as the Male-contented Projectours of Presbyterian Discipline here intended. For in Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, when the Puritans were most vehemently zealous and busie about the establishing their *Genevan* Discipline, and found it a matter above their Power Publicly to obtrude it, or their Mimically Ordained Ministers on the Church, so as to Exercise their Function without Episcopal Ordination and Licence, They were infinitely perplexed what course to take. For then so high were they that they Obliged Men to Renounce Episcopal Orders; and probably would still be of that temper, but that so many of the Prime Leaders were caught in that Net: and how to proceed without such Ordination, they could not see: till at last necessity and presumption drave them to this Sacrilegious and prophane Counsell and resolution, viz. That they of their Gang should be first Ordained by their Presbyteries, and then permitted to receive Imposition of Hands from the Bishop, as a Civil Magistrate, not as Communicating any Spiritual, or Ecclesiastical Faculty; which they determined to have been by them only given before. Which is the very same *Legal* Imposi-

See Lib. 3.
Chap. 14. of
Dangerous
Positions.

tion of hands they, with so much presence of candour and condescension can suffer, or allow in the Bishop, after they have effected all that is Sacred before. And their equanimity and condescension herein consisteth, that the Ecclesiastical Power and Divine Right of Ordination, according to the Judgment and Constitutions of our Church, *only* resting in the Bishops, must by this trick be wholly extinguished and debauched into a Secular Power, by such Acts signifying their Licence given for such men, as they shall have before Ordained, to minister. This they certainly must and do intend, who hold it a great prophanation of Orders to be Reiterated; and therefore all the Bishop doth after them, is look'd on by them only as certain Formalities attending (not the Inward Power, but) Outward Commission to preach. Which is so far from what it pretends, Moderation, that nothing could be devised more pernicious to the whole Form of our Church; and such, that if any Bishop should attempt to put in practice, he thereby betrays and denies the Church, his own Order, and somewhat more than I will say at present. So cruel are the Mercies, and so Extreme the Moderation of our Adversaries.

It being then in the Power of any
D 3 single

Chap. 2. single Person, and much more of a Faction, to make a Church, or, more truly, to denominate it Extreme and Immoderate, when ever they please to run far enough from it by their roving Inventions and Innovations. When will there be any rest, or stability from such accusers; if such a Church shall presently be obliged by the Sacred Bonds of Charity, Unity, and Peace, to leave its ground and follow them, at least in part, and to relinquish its Possession and Right; lest by the foresaid Engine of shew and pretence of Moderation, it be turned out of doors? Surely, God must be trusted in such Cases, if there were no other reason (as there are many and weighty) besides the necessity of discouraging such Attempts, which will never be wanting, when such success is hoped for, upon such general and weak, though plausible, Pleas.

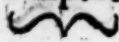
It is wont to be said, that all this may be true; for it is not fit all Pretenders and Opinions should be Tolerated, or yielded to: but this makes nothing against the Sober, Godly, and Consciencious Party, who can do somewhat in order to a Reconciliation, and keep close to the Rule of the Scripture.

I do observe, that the best Arms (even such men have to prevail with,) are very frequent and large praises of themselves,

selves, and profuse self-commendation, Chap. 2.
 which hath had wonderful great success: For if you demand an Argument, and some competent Proof that they are so Consciencious, or how possibly they can be said to be so who have been enormous in Sins of a Party, and not Personal Sins? You shall find shameful tergiversation, or more shameful Justification of such Practices, as, in our estimation no Sober, Honest, or truly Consciencious man can be subject to, and much less defend.

And as touching the great Regard pretended to be had to the Word of God, we see no cause to take them at their Word, or that they should measure, and judge their own Cause. It is a stronger and more reasonable Proof, that they have not the Scriptures on their side, than any they can bring that they have, That all indifferent Standers by give it against them: I mean, the Tradition and Practice of the best and ancientest Churches.

Neither will the Doctrine of Christian Liberty relieve these; if better understood, than vulgarly it is. For, (not to make a set Dispute of that Subject at present) two general Errors may be noted, which have evil Influence upon men: First, That Christian Liberty is only Negative, being completed in a

Chap. 2.  single Person, and much more of a Faction, to make a Church, or, more truly, to denominate it Extreme and Immoderate, when ever they please to run far enough from it by their roving Inventions and Innovations. When will there be any rest, or stability from such accusers; if such a Church shall presently be obliged by the Sacred Bonds of Charity, Unity, and Peace, to leave its ground and follow them, at least in part, and to relinquish its Possession and Right; lest by the foresaid Engine of shew and pretence of Moderation, it be turned out of doors? Surely, God must be trusted in such Cases, if there were no other reason (as there are many and weighty) besides the necessity of discouraging such Attempts, which will never be wanting, when such success is hoped for, upon such general and weak, though plausible, Pleas.

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Chap. 2. freedom from Judaical Servitude, or Bondage under *Moses* his Law; or not doing what was indispensably Imposed by that Law, on that People: and not in any thing Positive, or a Licence to act more than it was free or Lawful for them. Though I do not find that it was by *Moses* his Law made utterly Unlawful for that People to Act any thing besides what was Commanded expressly by it; It is plain, that in process of time they did contrive many things Extrinsically related to the Worship of God. Neither are such their Ordinances any where reprehended in Scripture; but such are often, which are contrary to their Law, or juggle out the Orders of God, and his precepts. And these are the places brought so against Humane Inventions subservient to God's command; very ignorantly, or peevishly. But however, Liberty of Christians extendeth as well to the Affirmative as Negative part; that is, to do those things which are not prohibited any ways by God's Word, as well as not to do those things which the *Jews* were bound to do. Hence it follows, that, were it so, that the *Jewish* Church was tyed up so strictly (which I do not believe) that it could not Act any thing circumstantiating the Service of God but what was directly required, yet Evangelical

gelical Liberty, being as well of a far Chap. 2.
more ample as noble condition, doth permit such things, contrary to the superstition of late Pastors.

Another Mistake is concerning the proper seat or subject of Evangelical Liberty. For, divers there are that suppose that such Liberty we now treat of (for I know there are divers other sorts of far more excellent nature, but not concerning us at present) belongeth immediately and entirely to each single good Christian; which is far from truth and sobriety to conceive. For Christ gave this Donative primarily and immediately to his Church and the Administrators thereof; that they, according to Christ's Charter, should have liberty to institute, abrogate, order, and dispose matters, such Rites and Observances as shall seem to them most conducive to the Faith and Worship of God under the Gospel; yet with such limitations both for number and nature, that none be introduced contrary to the tenor thereof, or Analogy of Faith, or tend to the burying of any integral part or practise thereof under rubbish: yet are not presently all private Christians allowed to preside over their Superiors, to the determining what is of evil consequence, and what not, against publike judgement. For Instance, To have power to determine the eating

Chap. 2. eating of Flesh on Friday, or not, is undoubtedly a Liberty Evangelical; but 'tis not immediately posited in every particular Christian, but the Church Representative; and private persons have no liberty but as it is dispensed by publike Authority. When I call this a Liberty Evangelical, I mean not, as too many do, as if such an indifferency must properly belong to Christians; for it doth not. For Infidels, and Heathen have that liberty as fully as Christ's Church; and they in Authority amongst them, may as well grant or deny this Liberty as Christians: and no question but such as are subject to them should offend, if they perversly refused to comply with their Superiors orders. Does therefore, think we, Christian Religion and Liberty exempt us from that kind of obedience which is naturally due? For my part, that I hold a double obligation rather of Christians to submit; and that I can rather pity, than help such as are of the contrary Opinion, is all that I shall say at this time. Yet we see that too common amongst us, which Calvin himself endeavoured to scoff men out of, in these Words, *Videns quosdam quibus sua libertas non videtur consistere, nisi per esum carniū die Veneris in ejus possessionem venerint, i.e.* You may see some who suppose their Liberty cannot hold, unless they

Calvin. In-
stit. l. 3. c. 9

they take Possession of it, by eating Flesh on Chap. 2.
Fridays. To conclude then, It is directly repugnant, to Christian Liberty to deny, the Church hath power to appoint the use, or disuse of things Indifferent; and 'tis absolutely Inconsistent with Evangelical Piety and the power of Godliness (which consist much in denying our own Wills and Appetites) to glory how easily we Contemn such Lawful Orders.

I had thought to have said somewhat against the bold Charge of Antichristianism laid to our Church; and a reason, why men, that cannot Rule us, must not obey it. But I perceive the Fever of our late Reformers to be somewhat abated; and like men newly come out of Calentures, they begin to come to their senses, to see they were monstrously out, though not so much to their Reason, as to make satisfaction for such Phrantick Miscarriages, by a sober retraction, and disabusing of Men, (as in Conscience they are bound) from that and such like Extravagancies;

Superstition is another sore charge against our Church, and a reason why a Moderation must be very expedient and seasonable: And no marvel they, who proceed upon such feeble and false notions of their own private invention, should conclude against us so sadly: when

Chap. 2. when the truth being duly sifted, none are more superstitious than exclaimers against Superstition. And such are all they who place Religion and worship in not doing, as much as others in doing things Indifferent: and pretend Conscience offended in acting, much more than they who are accused, in omitting. And this we hold to be a certain Instance of Superstition (according to these mens own grounds) to be Religious where the matter is not capable of Religion: and they are in their way Religious, who make a Conscience of a thing, whether doing, or not doing; and therefore are Superstitious; and therefore ought better to consider what they so rashly and ignorantly burden others with, lying, though not in the very same kind, under a juster and greater imputation of the same thing.

But for Peace-sake, and to prevent a Schism, we ought to condescend to our Brethren, who (to use their own Phrase, which they best know what it means) *can come up to us* in many things. But what means this great and sudden Change in these men? Are not they the very same, who formerly made it Criminal, yea Capital to Preach Peace, and propound Reconciliation? Yes sure, but Times, not Manners are altered.

Surely

Surely somewhat extraordinary is at the bottom of all this. They Act not according to Nature, but outward necessity : and such a Peace is not worth the having, which can never be held any longer, than men shall be able to break it, or work their ends by Insinuations and fair Promises, open force failing them. Like as it is seen with an impure Assailant of a chaste Virgin, the party being Rescued by an extraordinary Providence out of his wicked Hands, he turns to her again, and tempts her to his Lust by promises of Marriage; but having obtained his ends, despises, whom he hath undone : Or as the Lion and the mans Daughter, in the *Apologue* : The Lion sought the Fathers consent for his Daughter : Very willingly, said the man, upon condition that you will suffer your Claws to be pared close, and your Teeth taken out, lest you hurt my tender Daughter : The Lyons extreme love caused him to do so; and then demanding his Sponse, was not only denied her, but, not being able to help himself, was knock'd 'oth' head for his kind Condescensions. When the Church of *England* hath spoiled it self of its proper and natural Guards, then will the fair Discipline be monstrously kind to it : and the event every man sees. But what at length do they intend by their enigmatical

Chap. 2.



Chap. 2. *matrical speech of Coming up to us?*
 Will they Renounce one branch of their Covenant? Will they for ever lay aside one of the Cords of their Whip with six strings? I have seriously asked and urged some of them, and could not get any lasting Concession, any longer than they shall be enabled to exact the whole: And do we admire they should, until that time, seem at least satisfied with part? Let them name one thing, that for Peace-sake for these Hundred years, they would give to us more than we had before, either of peace, quiet, or unity with them. But very many Relaxations have been made already: and are we awhit the nearer? Or is it not then time to make a stop of Dispensations; when the Dispensation for a time shall be alledged against the Law, and Canon it self? And it is no kindness at all (in their opinions) that such Mitigations and Connivance have been; but Extremity, Tyranny, Injustice, Uncharitableness to restore the Pristine force and vigour to Ecclesiastical Laws. Upon these and the like Considerations, I conclude with

Cic. Philip. 7. Tully to Antony. Queris quare pacem nolo? Quia turpis; Quia periculosa; Quia esse non potest. Would ye know, why I will have no peace? Because it is dishonest, because it is dangerous, and because

cause it cannot be. It must needs be dishonest and dishonourable, because of the conditions required. For they, having extremely separated themselves from us, and standing at that distance firmly, do cast the odious termes of Extremes, upon them they have so left; and call their dragging us to them, *their coming home to us*; and their pulling us down to their pleasures, *their coming up to us*. And that it is dangerous, appears from manifold Tenets, interpreted clearly against their own temporizing Glosses; by their apparently wicked attempts and practices. And if there were no more than present ambiguous, and two-handl'd Phrases, whereby they Characterize themselves, and distinguish themselves from others, they are much to be suspected. For we often do hear them Magnifying their Capacities and Genius's, as that they are Free-born Subjects; they are a free spirited People; a free-born People; and such like: which as they are special pieces of flatteries to make the common sort proud of themselves, so truly we cannot thoroughly understand what they signifie: but this we know, such Phrases change like water, in Weather-glasses according to the season: If it be a fair and clear time with us, then do they fall down low, to a very tolerable sense; but if fowl and trouble-

John Cor-
bet's Interest
of England,
p. 24. P. 57.

Chap. 2. troublesome, then do they rise to a higher Meaning a great deal, and Actions suitable. And what possibility of Reconciliation and Peace durable is to be expected from those men, whom nothing truly will content less than their entire Discipline? but if they accept less for the present, they take it, only as men do debts hard to be got in, in part of payment, until they shall be able to recover all. For as *Chrysostome* well noteth. As it is stupidity to neglect such of whom there is hope: So to attempt the cure of such who are incurable is madness, and extreme distemper. Hear what the above mentioned Pretended Moderator saith, and you will begin to see what great hopes, or advantage may be had of them.

Ἐπεὶ τὸ
τὸς ἐλπί-
δας ἔχο-
ντας, &c.
Chrysost.
Serm. 6. in
Titum.

The Publike State of these Differences
Joh. Corbet's is such, that the Prelatists may, and ought to descend to the Presbyterians in the proposed Moderate Way; but the Presbyterians cannot come up to the Prelatists in the height of their Way. For the Prelatists Condescension stands only in the omission of certain things, which seem to them laudable; but the Subjection of the Presbyterians stands, in Subscribing, and Conforming to certain things, which seem to them unlawful. Thus he. But, according to what Rule does it appear, which is here weakly and childishly taken for granted,

Interest.
pag. 109.

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granted, that the *Prelatists* (as this *Chap. 2.*
Jack-straw miscalls those of the Church
of *England*) are so high? Let it be
shewed, what is the Mean they have so
far exceeded; and what Laws of Church-
Government they have, or do Tran-
scend? If they make their Interpretations
of Scripture, the Law; their Models,
the Rule; their Discipline, the
Mean we ought to compare, examine,
and judge our selves by; we must confess
we are out; we are in the Extreme, we
are very high: but who could be so
bold besides these men, to expect such
a fond and absurd concession? And who
so stupid among us, to yield to that most
Ridiculous way of Tryal? when We,
being the only Legal Visible Church of
this Nation, as to outward Constituti-
ons, in all equal Mens reason, have a
Right to judge them, and rather con-
demn them of Extreme, on the contrary
side; to which we neither can, nor
ought to descend. But it will be said,
The Reformed Churches abroad may
direct us. Ye are to know, and consider,
That there is not One Reformed Church
that We can hear of, that (were it their
case, as it is yours) would thus tugg, and
stand our against us: as Mr. *Darel* hath
amply shewed. Again, Our Church
hath no such Obligations to receive the

*Vindication
of the Church
of England;
&c.*

E Sen-

Chap. 2. Sentence of All the Reformed Churches
 put together; as you have to submit to
 Ours, as being generally Educated in,
 and under the same. And Thirdly, I
 Appeal to all the World, What an un-
 wise, and ungodly Charity it would be
 in us so to condescend to your Pitch,
 and conceptions of Church-Govern-
 ment, and Orders for the gaining of a
 very uncertain Peace with you; and
 thereby put our selves out of a possi-
 bility of having any Communion, or
 Peace with almost infinite Churches a-
 broad; who will receive into Com-
 munion and Fellowship none that
 want such things, as you require us to
 lay away, for love of you. I speak
 not so much of the *Romish Church*, as
Greek, and Eastern Churches; with
 whom to hold Communion and Peace,
 or at least to prevent all just excep-
 tions, and grounds of their refusing
 Communion with us, by retaining such
 Constitutions and Orders as we now
 enjoy, is ten times more degradable,
 and charitable than for your sakes to
 part with them. And we are assured,
 under your devices we shall never ob-
 tain it. Furthermore, whence hath
 this Author, what with so much con-
 fidence, and so commonly passes for
 good and current among them, That
 they

they of the Church hold those things Chap. 2.
only Laudable, wherein it differeth
from *Sectaries*? And that it is not
as unlawful, according to our consci-
ences, to omit them, as it is with
their consciences to do them? We
do not ('tis true) hold them to have
any Moral Good in them, of them-
selves; and therefore we call them
Indifferent: And the *Presbyterians* do
not affirm they have any Moral Evil,
and therefore grant they may be ob-
served. There must therefore be some-
thing more in the wind than consci-
ence, on these Mens parts, which de-
tain them: For as much as neither
they, nor any man else, can pretend
an offence of conscience, where there
is neither *real*, nor *apparent* Evil: but
'tis a contradiction that any thing
should so much as *appear* to be Evil,
or Sinful, while it appears Indiffe-
rent. Therefore, according to the
Presbyterians own Tenets, they may
come up to us; for it can only be
pretended to be against their con-
sciences. And if they Alledge any
cause, why that, which in it self is
not Evil, nor against their consci-
ence, may be, and is, upon ano-
ther account, which 'tis easie to guess
at; I will answer, That just so it is

Chap. 2. with the Church of *England*: Many things, which being not absolutely, and in themselves good, or necessary, and so consequently may be omitted with a safe conscience, for certain adventitious advantages) and Exterieur Accounts, no whit inferiour to those of the other side, some of which I have even now mentioned) cannot with a good conscience be Abolished, or Omitted. And thus we see the Vanities and Mistakes in alledging Etremities, Moderation, Tyranny, and tender Conscience, in these Cases.

CHAP. III.

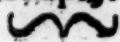
A General determination of the Question according to Reason.

THat all Factions, Parties, Persons, or Religions are not to be Tolerated, or granted Liberty, I think all agree. It will be necessary then, in the First place, to lay down certain Distinctions, serving to judge of the reasonableness of such Inhibition towards some, rather than others. And they may concern either the Persons, or the Religion, or lastly, the kind of Tolerations or Restraint, themselves.

Persons pleading for Liberty of Religion are First, either such as are of themselves altogether Free from any Civil, or Moral Subjection to us, or such as by Birth and Education being Incorporated into the same Body, and Polity, are, and ought to be, subordinate unto the Head thereof.

Secondly the Religion Insisted on, and Pleaded for, is either Repugnant to the light and prime Principles of Nature and humane Society, or consistent with the same.

Thirdly, because all Restraint Moral, such as is Dissuasion, Refutation, Exclusion

Chap. 3.  sion from the Society of others, is by the concession of all Parties insufficient to suppress a growing Evil, oftentimes; and therefore outward Civil Mutes, and Punishments are in such Case to be Inflicted; the diversity of such Punishment is to be considered. For according to the Civil Law, Punishments are either Corporal, or Non-corporal. And Corporal are either Capital, or Not-capital. Punishment Not-corporal is that which divests a man of any Profits, Emoluments, or Dignities. Corporal, and Not-capital, is that, which is Inflicted on a mans Body, without taking away the Life. Capital, is that which destroys Life. According to these therefore, it may be answered to the main Querie.

First, That it is not only Lawful and reasonable to allow a Toleration to Persons in Co-ordination to us, and not depending upon us, But it is very unjust, and unnatural to attempt by Force, to reduce them to our way of serving God: For such kind of Force, or Violence cannot be offered, but by Civil Power assumed; and Civil Power ought never to be exercised, but by Lawful Authority: and they, whom we suppose to be of distinct Societies and Regiments, can have no Legal right to

to invade, or Usurp upon one another. Chap. 3.
 And this being against Justice (which always is to be preferred before the best Religion) it would be a contradiction to advance and build Religion upon the Ruines of that which Founds all Religion: as *Tertullian* excellently argues.

And that *Tertullian's* judgement was only for the Toleration of such as were of quite diverse Religions; and not of such as are, or pretend to be of the same Religion, is evident out of what he writes against the *Gnosticks* pretended Christians, thus, *Ad Officium Hæreticos compelli non illi dignum est. Duritia vincenda non suadenda. It is fit that Hæreticks should be compelled, and not allured. Obstinacy must be subdued, and not drawn.*

And if this holds good in Persons Coordinate, so far that it is most unjust for Either to impose upon Other their Faith, or Worship: it can scarce be expressed, the horrible crime and injustice of them, who, being as Legally Subordinate and Subject as 'tis possible for People to be, take the confidence to Arm, to the end, they may reduce their Prince, and Pastors to the Rule of their Consciences; And having oppressed both, though failing in their Main design, the Scene changed, to exceed themselves in Immodesty, and demand that benefit, they

Humani juris & naturalis potestatis est licere uni-

cuique quod putaverit colere; nec aliis obesse aut prodesse alterius Religio.

Sed nec Religionis est cogere Religionem, quæ sponte suscipi debet:

non enim, cum & hostia animo libenti suscipi exposculentur. Tertullianus Ad-

versus Gnosticos, c. 2. Scapulam. cap. 2. Vide Thomam 22. qu. 10.

Artic. 8. Tertul. Adversus Gnosticos, c. 2.

Chap. 3. would no ways grant others, whom they had no right at all to deny; upon reasons infinitely Inferiour to them they awhile since rejected. In these shameful straits, they say with one of their late Politicians, *The Presbyterian Party in England, never engaged under a less Authority, than That of both Houses of Parliament.* Good Sir, clear up, and speak out. Did they do well, or not, in so Engaging, even with both Houses on their side? If they did well, then did we very ill to Oppose and Resist; Then were all your Enemies Rebels, the King himself not excepted: Then why do you not Preach Repentance to us, as we do to you? Then will you, then may you, nay, then ought you to do so again; as we profess we are bound to do, and always did in our greatest Persecutions: And are you not well to be look'd to, think you? But your Case is still worse: For it will never be granted, what is here supposed, viz. That those Two Houses were Houses of Parliament, but a *Conventicle* of Private men, after the expulsion of that part of the Lords-House; which have been proved to be no-less Essential to a Parliament than the remaining States, had they remained with the *Presbyterians*: but 'tis apparent, not the Major part continued with them, but manifested against them; But especially,

Corbet's Interest of
Engl. p. 57.

especially, the *Kings* Authority withdrawn from them, they, like *Sampson* the *Nazarite* being shaven, became as other men, and the Spirit of Power, and all Legal Authority departed from them. Or, if after all these Ruines and Dilapidations, they must still be called Houses; in what doth *Presbyterian* excel the following Factions, who had those things they called Two Houses too, and with no more prejudices?

But my Author proceeds, and indeed speaks plainly. *I have read* (saith he) *Corbet's In-*
That the Parliament of England, is of a tereft of
Twofold capacity. First, Representing the Engl. p. 57.
People, as Subjects; and so, that it can do
nothing but manifest their Grievances, and
Petition for Relief. Secondly, By the Con-
stitution, it hath part in the Sovereignty;
and so it hath part in the Legislative
Power, and in the final judgment. You have read. You may have read, and that from your own party, infinite passages of Sedition, and Treason: But had you so little Wit and Loyalty, pretending so much to both, as to publish and approve it, and to justify wicked practices by as bad Principles? But they are in the Faction still, and though like Water in a sponge or clout, scarce discernible when let alone, being pressed a little, out they come. But must he that speaks Treason, speak Nonsense, and Impossibilities too?

For,

Chap. 3. For, 'tis not possible that the same persons should consist of such a contradictory capacity, as that of the Subject and Sovereign. But I return:

It is worse than Barbarous to Attach, or Oppress any People, meerly upon account of Religion, not repugnant to the Light of Nature; as I shall shew by and by: For otherwise, Religion, whose chief End is to conserve Mankind in Peace and Justice, would turn the Earth upside down, and fill the World with incessant combustions, and Massacres. For it will be as reasonable that the *Infidel*, and *Indians* should Invade the *Christian* upon that score, as the *Christian* Him. And then, where will such Depredations end?

Thom. 22.

Quaest. 10.

Art. 8.

Τὸ βιάζε-

σθαι καὶ ἐλ-

κεῖν τοὺς

εὐσεβεῖς

καὶ ἐκείνους

παραβάτας,

ἐκπεπὲς

καὶ ἐστὶν οὐ-

τὸ δοκεῖν.

Isidor.

Pelusiote.

l. 3. Epist.

362.

Lactant. Lib. 5. Instit. cap. 19.

Again, as *Thomas* hath observed, Religion being a Free Thing, there is no Reason *Infidels* should be thereunto Compelled. Nay, as *Isidore Pelusiotes* noteth well, To Force and Dragg others to the true Religion, who are absolutely at their own disposal, neither is, nor seems Decent or Convenient. And *Lactantius* saith, *Non opus vi & injuriâ, quia Religio cogi non potest*. There is no need of Force and Injury, forasmuch as Religion cannot be Compelled.

And

And St. Ambrose Testifies truly, That **Chap. 3.**
 Christ sent his Apostles to sow the Faith,
 who were not to Compel, but Teach, nor to
 Exercise Force, or Power, but extol the Do-
 ctrine of Humility. And agreeable there-
 unto St. Hillary writes, *Deus cognitionem*
sui docuit potius quam exegit, God ra-
 ther Taught, than Extorted the knowledge
 of himself. To these, and this effect, I
 might add such Fathers as *Monsieur*
Duillet hath collected; endeavouring,
 (though in vain,) to prove thereby, that
 the present Church hath fallen from
 the Opinions of the Auncient, because
 they were against Compulsion in point
 of Religion; which, with what I have
 observed seeming to favour Liberty in
 Religion, is easily answered by distinguish-
 ing of Persons educated in, and sub-
 ject to a Church, to whom they never
 granted a Licentiousness of this Nature;
 from such as were not under any Obliga-
 tion of Obedience and Conformity to
 a Society: Of these they are to be in-
 terpreted, and not of them. For herein
 they followed the Doctrine of S. Paul
 who says, *What have I to do to judge them*
that are without? And of these, are the
 words of the Psalmist to be understood;
 abused by trifling Sectaries: *Thy Pro-*
ple shall be willing in the day of thy
Power. Which implies, a freeness of
 consent to the Service and Faith of
 Christ

Christus
Apostolos
misit ad se-
minandam
fidem, qui,
&c.

Ambros. In
Luc. Lib. 7.
Pict. ad
Constant.

Joan: Duil:
De Vero
usu Patrum.
Lib. 2. c. 6.

1 Cor. 5. 12.

Psa. 110. 13.

Chap. 3. Christ under the Gospel, in such as first
 W received the knowledge thereof.

Secondly, According to the Second Distinction, it may be said, that there being some Religions not only contrary to ours, but even to the Light, and commonly received Law of Nature, such are not only, not to be admitted into any Christian Commonwealth; but it is Lawful for Christians or not Christians, in vindication of Common-Laws of Nature, even such, which being once and lightly offered to the consideration of such as do not observe the same, do in a manner constrain Assent thereunto; provided that Interest, Passion, and unnatural Vices have not taken away that sight, which Nature had given. For we know

2 Cor. 4. 4.

2 Pet. 3. 5.

who says, *That the God of this World blinds the eyes of some*: and who saith, *Some things men are wilfully ignorant of.* Therefore Actual Ignorance neither excuses, nor exempts men from Punishment, even of such, as are not in Political Authority over them. The reason whereof is, Because, however the World be divided into several Countries, and those Countries sub-divided into several Nations and Governments. absolute in themselves, as to Political Administration; yet are All Men of the same flesh and Blood, and kind, and nature, yea,

AB. 17. 26.

Com-

Commonwealth, and Family, as to certain Principles of Reason, and Nature, which are as Laws containing men in the same Society; and as to the Design that God had in placing Man upon Earth, which was to live at least so Humanely, as might continue the Work of Gods hands upon Earth, and the Recognition of a Superior Cause of them, and Power and Dominion over them, which is a Deity; contrary to which, is that most brutish and degenerate Sin of *Atheism*. For though *Atheism*, be not a Religion (of which we now speak), yet it is to be reduced to this Subject, as all Privations are there to be handled, where their habits are properly treated of. Now the *Stoicks*, (as *Laertius* tells us,) were wont to make a Two-fold *Atheism*; *Dogmatical*, whereby men not only know no God, but would prove

Chap. 3.
There is no God: And *Practical*, whereby men in general having a true, but weak, and obscure knowledge of God, do, as the Apostle saith, *live as without God in the World*; as if there were no such thing Existent. But we shall rather divide *Atheists* into Purely Negative, such as have, nor ever had, no knowledge of a God; and Positive, such as have had the knowledge, and sense of a Deity; and after, are fallen into

Τὸν Θεόν·
Λογὴν Ἀθεῖον
λέγουσι
Δίπτον δ'
τὸ ἄθεον,
τὸ τε ἑα-
νίας τοῦ Θε-
οῦ λεγόμενον
εἰ τὸ τε ἑξ-
ουθεν μὴ
τὸ Θεῖ.
Diog. Laert.
In Zenone.
Ephes. 2. 12.

Chap. 3. into such open *Apostasies*, and *Defiances*, that they *Dogmatize* such Unnatural Opinions. Of these Latter, we hold it just and reasonable, that, where they live mixt with other People who do revere a *Deity*, they should be put to Death, after serious and plain Proposal made of their Abominable Errors; without any Laborious, or Learned controverting the Point.

And one would think the fine *Athenian* Wits of our days should give us leave to be as serious and zealous for our Religion, or for Religion in General as were the *Athenians* of old: who, as *Lactantius* tells us, burnt the books of *Protagoras* the Philosopher and expelled him their Country, because he held an opinion, that it was not certain whether there were a God nor. A while after there sprang up *Diagoras* and *Theodorus Cyrenæus* much of the humour and disposition of our new Monsters in Philosophy: who (as *Lactantius* well noteth) because their wits would not serve them to find out any new thing, [worth any thing] all things being before them discovered, and said, they chose to deny that, against truth, in which all former Philosophers had consented, without ambiguitie; and that was the Providence of God: which who ever denies must necessarily deny God, and he that denies God, denies himself

*Lactant. De
Vra Dei, c. 9.*

*Maluerunt
contra veri-
tatem id ne-
gare in quo
priores uni-
versi sine
ambiguitate
consequen-
tiant, &c.
Lactant. lb.*

to be a man. And what should hinder, *Chap. 3.*
 but that such a dull and monstrous bur-
 den of the earth should be sunk to the
 place from whence he came?

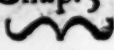
And this affirmeth Perkins, before me, *Perkins Ca-*
 in these Words, *As for those, that are com-*
monly called Atheists, which deny that there
is a God, they are to be punished with
Death, as not worthy to live in humane So-
cietie; and the greatest Torment, that can
be devised by the Wit of Man, is too good
for them: For, if they be holden for Tray-
tors to an Earthly Prince, and are most
deservedly adjudged to Death, &c. But I
 suppose, a greater reason than this, is,
 The certain Destruction which such Em-
 bruz'd men do bring to humane Society
 it self: which, whoever is a direct and
 professed Enemy unto, may be put to
 Death, as lawfully as Wolves, Lions, and
 Tygers: And yet, not at the pleasure, or
 Power of every one that meets them,
 as wild Beasts may, because Judgement,
 against the most open Malefactors con-
 demned by the Law, must not be exe-
 cuted, but by Sentence, and Commission
 from the Supreme Power. For to make
 good one part of Justice, we must not
 destroy another: nor secure Gods Or-
 dinance in one Point, by endangering it
 in another. But it is Gods Ordinance,
 that the Supreme Power should be re-
 spected and obeyed; and it is scarce
 possible,

Chap. 3. possible, that any Commonwealth should be of any long continuance, where private Persons take on them to administer or execute Justice, upon their own presumptions. And if it be, as the wit of some *Atheists* lead them to conceive, that Religion is only a trick of Policy, to keep-men in order, and obedience to their Superiours, and that they do confess, that it is necessary to keep together a Civil Society; do they deserve any thing less than Death, who shall treacherously discover, and endeavour to Null such a Mystery of State, without which Humane Society cannot be maintain'd? *Chrysostome* was so zealous against *Atheists* as to advise thus: If you chance to meet any in the High-ways or in the Market-place, who blasphemeth God, draw up to him, and rebuke him: and if need requires, smite him, and shrink not. Strike him on the Face: beat him on the chops. Hallow thy Fist by the blow. And if any call thee to an account for it; If thou bee'st had before the Judgement Seat for it, go along with them. And if the Judge punishes thee for it; tell him plainly, that he spake evil of the King of Angels. For if it be reasonable to punish him who speaks ill of an Earthly King, much more him that wrongs God, &c. Thus he.

Escobar tells us the Practice of Spain to be against Blasphemers, That for a Light Blasphemy,

Chrysost.
Tom. 6.
pag. 460.
Ed. Sav.

Escob. Theol.
Mor. Tract. 5
Exam. 2. c. 4.

Blasphemy, he only abjures it: Yet, the Chap. 3
 Punishment doth answer the Sin. v. g. If 
 they Blaspheme out of sudden Anger, or
 some other Passion, they are Condemned to
 the Gallies: or else standing bare Foot,
 and bare Head, girt with a Cord, and
 holding a Light Torch in their Right hand,
 they stand in some Festival day in the
 Church, and the Service being ended, they
 receive their Sentence with the rest of their
 Penances, i. e. Fastings, Prayers, and
 Pecuniarie Mulets. And where Autho-
 rity is Defective and Remiss, in this so
 horrible Provocation; It is observed by
 many dreadful Instances, how God him-
 self taketh Vengeance: as, amongst o-
 thers, *Matthew of Westminster* tells us,
 How, in the year of Grace 501, *Olympus*
 a most Mad Fellow, while bathing he
 blasphemed the Holy Trinity, was con-
 sumed with a Fiery Thunder-bolt falling
 on him from Heaven. Thus he, And the
 like story hath *Matthew Paris* also, who
 tells us, how that certain spreaders abroad
 of corrupt doctrine, at Oxford, in the Reign
 of Henry the Second, were brought to justice
 before the King and the Bishops of the
 Realm, who being found swerving from
 the Catholique Faith, and upon examination
 convicted, had their Faces Stigmatized, that
 all might take notice of them, and so were
 expelled the Realm. This was the Zeal of
 King and Church in those days: but alas!

Matt. Westm.
 pag. 182.

Matt. Paris.
 in Hen. 2.
 Ann. 1166:

Chap. 3.

now Blasphemies beget friendly smiles & favour in Great ones: & abominable turpitudes are passed over with such kind of Fines, that are almost as soon begged off, by the reward of the twentieth part, or perhaps less of the Summe imposed, as they are laid on. And that, not only Corporal, but even Capital Punishment is due to such an one, doth from hence appear; because a man being of a Religion which asserts the *Deity* under such and such Forms, or Notions; the Professed dishonouring thereof implies a self Condemnation, and with all such an unnatural humour of impiety, which leads him against all Religions, and humane Practice.

Cuneus De Republic.
Hebræ. l. 1. c. 1
Item Maimonides in Mishnâ Tract. de Regibus c. 9.
Tertul. Apol. c. 8. August. Civit. Dei, l. 7 c. 19.
Alex. ab Alexand. l. 6 c. 26.
Ludovic. Vives in Aug. de Civ. Dei.
Hugo Grot. contra Socin. p. 200, 201, 202.
Bodin, De Repub. l. 1 c. 5

And it is observed by *Cuneus*, That such was the Force of the Seven Precepts of *Noah*, and extended so to all men, that the *Israelites* were commanded, such who were ignorant of them to slay by War, and remove them from humane Society.

Again, it were (I suppose) Lawful for any Prince, or Person to compel any people that should Worship their God, or gods by the Sacrifice of Mankind: And yet we read how far this Devilish superstition prevailed over the World, as may appear from *Tertullian*, *Austin*, *Alexander ab Alexandro*, *Ludovicus Vives*, *Grotius*, and others. In a Word, Learned *Bodin* tells us,

That

That there was never any People, or Na- Chap. 3
tion, who imagined not that the gods might
be pacified with humane Sacrifices; such as
the Peruvians and Brastians at this day use.
And that the Canaanites in ancient days
accustomed themselves to such Sacrifi-
ces, Offering their Sons and Daughters
unto Molech, that Fiery Idol; the Scrip-
ture Testimonies are many, and express,
and not to be eluded by the vain and
bold glosses of Rabbies attempting, I
suppose, to extenuate the foul Apostasy
of their Predecessors; and that Chil-
dren were not kill'd, and burnt, but
drawn only through two Piles of Fire,
and so Consecrated to Molech, as Master
Selden hath observed out of them. But
that Molech was the same with Saturne,
and the Phœnicians offered to him such
inhumane Humane Sacrifices, Porphyrie
witnesseth; which agrees perfectly, with
the Practice of the Carthaginians, who
themselves, together with their Supersti-
tious Abominations, descended from the
Phœnicians. For that the Carthaginians
used to Offer such Sacrifices, Plutarch
not only assureth us, but tells us who,
and upon what occasion, caused that Cu-
stome to cease. For Gelon King of Sy-
racuse, having Conquered them, would
not make peace with them, unless they
would first give over Sacrificing their
Children to Saturne. Possibly, this un-

2 Kin 23. 10

Jer. 32. 33.

36.

Psal. 106. v.

37. 38. 39.

Jer. 7. 31.

Selden de

diis Syris

Synag. i. c. 6

Porphyr.

Παλ' Ἀ-

ποχης. l. 2.

Οὐ μὲντε-

ρον εἰρηνη-

ποιήσαντο

μετὰ αὐτοὺς

δουλοῦντες,

ὡς καὶ τὰ

ταῖς συνθη-

καις περιλά-

βειν, ὅτι

παύονται

τὰ τέκνα τοῦ

Κρόνου καὶ α-

θύοντες,

Plutarch.

Παλ' Ἀπο-

κάλ. &c.

Chap. 3. natural Religion took its Original from the Design of *Abraham* Offering up his Son *Isaac*; which, being performed amongst the *Phœnicians*, might be cause of mis-understanding to them, as Innumerable acts of the *Patriarchs* and *Israelites* were first corruptly imitated by the neighbouring *Heathens*, and by them transmitted and propagated into other parts; so that it was not an inward suggestion of Nature, though very common, so much as Imitation.

Again, were it so, that any Nation should freely admit, and practise the unnatural Sin of Coupling with Beasts after the manner of humane Sexes; I doubt not but it were Lawful, and Laudable in any Forrein Prince, to endeavour the abolishing of such a Custom, by Force of Arms, because this is against humane Nature, by confounding the Species of Man.

In the Last place, according to our distinctions, we are to consider the kind, and condition of punishment to be inflicted upon Offenders against Religion; of which, in the ensuing Chapters.

C H A P. IV.

That the Ancients, as well Christian as un-Christian, constantly denied Toleration of Religions dissident and contrary.

IT is a most frequent and plausible Maxime, which *Sectaries* have got by the end, to slip their Necks from the uneasy Yoke of Government, and duty of Obedience incumbent on them, many times against their Wills and Interests; *He is most a King that rules in the Hearts of his Subjects; and that Prince is always best served, and obeyed, who by gentleness, and kindness gains the good will of his People.* And this, though it hath much truth, soberly understood and modestly taken; yet, as by diverse of late applied, includes in it a world of Knavery and Mischiefe. For when will that be, that a Prince shall win the hearts of such dissatisfied, and fond persons as these? But when he shall lay the Scepter so lightly over them, as not to hurt them; when he shall give them so much Line, as that they may do what they please; when he shall remit, and relax the curbing and punishing part of the Laws so far, as that they may be dallied with, and play-

Chap. 4. ed with at pleasure, without Censure ;
 when they may Innovate according to
 the phantasies of their own Brains, and
 Lusts of their Hearts. Such a King as this
 is fit to Rule over a Free Spirited people,
 Free-born Subjects : and then shall he
 have their hearts, when he requires, and
 can command nothing else. But me-
 thinks such should do well, to think
 sometimes upon Rules of good Subjects,
 and that he is a good Subject (according
 to *S. Paul*) who doth all things [Law-
 ful and Honest] without murmuring,
 and disputing ; and that makes a Con-
 science of limiting his Superiours in
 their commands, where God hath not
 Limited ; and should spend some of that
 time, and shew some of that piety, which
 they profess, in regulating and assisting
 their Superiours, by their precepts to
 govern them well, in putting in practice
 the difficult Art of obeying Well : which
 Flesh and Blood takes so little content
 in, that nothing is more ungrateful to
 them, and an unmortified carnal Man
 discovers himself in nothing more, than
 in that humour. But this the Learning
 of the wisest, and common Experience
 may teach us ; that, as no Society of
 men can subsist without Laws, so no Laws
 without Coercion and Force ; and no
 Coercion can take place without punish-
 ment. For as *Tullie* in *Brutus*, and
Plutarch

Plutarch after him; All Commonwealths Chap. 4.
 continue and rest upon Two principal
 Columns, punishments and Benefits.
 For neither is Vertue so excellent and
 amiable in the eyes of all, no, nor Re-
 ligion, nor piety; as that men should be
 so Ravish'd with their intrinsick beauty,
 as to need no External Motives to com-
 mend them to us, and excite our Affe-
 ctions; neither is there such a loathsome
 Turpitude, or eminent danger in Vice,
 Heresie, or Impiety, as that, no outward
 Discouragements propounded, men of
 themselves, must as necessarily Flee
 from them, as they do from Serpents, or
 Mad-Dogs.

Plato therefore assigneth Two principal
 Ends in punishing Malefactors: First,
 Satisfaction for the wrong done unto the
 Community, by the Offence committed.
 Secondly, Prevention of like Miscarriages,
 by bringing a Terroure upon others.
Seneca makes Three Causes of inflicting
 punishment. First, that the punished may
 be amended. Secondly, or others cor-
 rected by their Sufferings. Thirdly, That
 the Evil being taken away, the Good
 may be more safe. Somewhat, not much
 differing from these, doth *Galen* likewise
 give Three Reasons of punishment. First,
 lest they should mischief the Good.
 Secondly, That a few being Chastised,
 others may be Reformed. Thirdly,
 That;

Plato in

Gorgiâ.

Seneca de

Clement. l. 1.

c. 21. Pœna

ad tria re-

spicere debet,

Aut ut eum

quem punit

emendet;

aut ut pœna

ejus ceteros

meliores red-

dat; aut sub-

latiâ malis

securiores

ceteri vi-

vant.

Galenus

Quod Mo-

res sequa-

ur, &c.

Chap. 4. That wicked Men proceed not too far in wickedness: All which, hold no less in a Religious Commonwealth, than Prophane. For, what safety can the sound Sheep be in, amongst whom the corrupt and rotten shall be permitted to Walk? And what security can the Righteous and true Believer be in, so long as the Infectious Doctrine and Example of

2 Tim. 2. 17. *Hereticks and Schismaticks* do creep and eat like a Grangrene, whereby the whole Body is in great danger to be dissolved, and dissipated? And the Apostle

1 Tim. 5. 20. *adviseeth Timothy to rebuke them that sin, before all, that others also may fear.* It hath been therefore the constant practice of the Church of Christ, for the better conserving it self in Unity, and Charity; First, to admonish and rebuke Litigious Dissenters and Dividers; and, that not taking due effect, to proceed to such severe punishment, as may render such unable to Propagate their mischievous Tenets. And not the Church only hath taken this necessary course, but even *Heathens* have thought it necessary to deny a Liberty of Introducing new devices into Religion, to the disturbance, and Dissettlement of Others? For *Valerius Maximus* sheweth, how that certain Books being found in *Rome*, making against the Established Religion; the City-Prator, by command of

Valerius
Max. l. c. 1.

of the *Senate*, caused them to be burned. Chap.4.
 And *Tullie* tells us of *Protagoras Abderites*, that having wrote certain Books of dangerous consequence to Religion, he was Banished by the *Athenians* out of their City and Countrey, and his Books burnt in an open Assembly.

Guilielmus Parisensis reporteth it to have been a Law amongst the *Romanes*, That none should be accounted or worshipped for Gods, which were not so Decreed to be. And *Plato* witnesseth that *Socrates* was put to death by the *Athenians*, because he Invented new Gods. Yea, *Diodorus Siculus* writeth, that the *Athenians* threatened death to any, that should speak against their Heathenish Religion. And *Tullie* relateth it amongst the Laws of Twelve Tables, No man must have new or strange Gods, neither must any worship in private, other Gods than have been publikely received. And therefore *Dio* writeth how that the *Senate* caused the Temples of *Isis* and *Serapis* to be pulled down, which were built before they had decreed them to be Gods.

And what is so manifest, as the fore Persecutions the *Jews* suffered under *Antiochus* for their Religion? and, How many and dreadful Persecutions *Christians* suffered under the *Heathen Emperors* for the Faith of *Christ*? Insomuch, that
 it

*Nullus absq;
 decreto eo-
 rum colere-
 tur, nec habe-
 retur Deus
 eorum. Guil.
 Paris. De Le-
 gibus, c. 24.
 Plato in A-
 polog. Socrat.
 Diodorus Si-
 culus, l. 13.
 Cicero De
 Legibus, l. 2.
 Dio, l. 40.*

*2 Maccab.
 6. 1.*

*Vide Sixtum
 Senens. Bi-
 blioth.*

l. 2. p. 39.

Chap. 4. it is observed by *Polydore Vergil*, and others; that from *S. Peter* to *Sylveſter* the Firſt, there being Thirty two Biſhops of Rome, all ſaving Seven, were Martyrized. But when Chriſtian Religion, partly by the Invincible Fortitude of Believers, and partly by the favour of ſome *Chriſtian Emperors* became Publike and rooted, and many were ſprung up from the Loyns of *Chriſtian Parents*, ſo that they never taſted of Gentiliſm; it ſeemed reaſonable to that greateſt Enemy to Chriſtians, to conſtrain none to Gentile-Worſhip. For thus he writeth to one of his Governours. *Οὐδὲν οὖν αὐτῶν ἀνόμιτα πρὸς θεοῦς ἱεῶν ἐλάττωται. We permit not that any of the Chriſtians ſhould be forced to our Altars.*

**But to draw nearer, I ſhall with S. Auſtine diſputing this againſt Crefconius, wave the Inſtances which may be brought out of the Old-Teſtament, becauſe they may be ſaid to be of a diverſe Oeconomie, from thoſe of the New. But moſt manifeſt it is, that ſuch as varied from the Religion in which they were Educated, were to be Cut off from their People; which I know is diverſely underſtood, but by All acknowledged to be a ſevere Punishment. And beſides it is undeniable, that ſuch as would not hear the Priests, whom God had ſet over them in matters of Religion, were to be put to Death.*

*Polydorus
Vergil, l. 8.
cap. 1.
Invent. Rer.*

*Jul. Epiſt. 52.
Nec de Veteri Teſtam.
profero exemplum
emulaquam
vis etiam
Propheticiſ
exemplis doceri
illa dixiſti. Illa, in
quam, nimis
antiqua non
profero; fuerunt enim
alterius diſpenſationis
& Temporis.
Auguſt. l. 4.
Contra Cref.
Grammat.
Exod. 22. v.
21. Dent. 13.
12, 13, 14.
15.
Dent. 17. 12.*

Death. Let us see what was the Practice of the Christian Church.

Learned *Pietro Paolo* of *Venice*, seemeth to dislike Persecution for *Heresie*: in that, treating of the *Inquisition* he argues against it from the Practice of the Church until *Constantine* the Great his time; saying, that until the Reign of *Constantine*, i. e. Three hundred and Twenty years after Christ, no Penalties were inflicted upon *Hereticks*. But I cannot but marvel, such a judicious Person should take that to be an argument of the Churches Opinion, That *Hereticks* ought not to be punished; when as, until *Constantine's* days, the Church was never possessed of any Civil Power; and it knew well enough it was against Christian Religion to Usurp it, though to the favouring and furthering of the same. But scarce was *Constantine* rid of that Tyrant, and Heathen, *Lycinius*, but, as *Lycinius*, out of Zeal, persecuted the Christians (which was the Ground of their quarrel, how ever malicious *Zozimus* Fables it otherwise.) *Constantine* endeavoured the suppressing of the Idolatrous *Gentile Worship*, commanding (as *Optatus* telleth us) the Temple Doors of the *Gentiles* to be shut up, and that the Christian Religion should be only protected, and maintained Publicly. And *Euse-*

Chap. 4.

Pietro Paolo
History of
Inquisition.
pag. 6.

Non invenitur exemplum in Evangelicis & Apostolicis Litteris, aliquid petendum à Regibus terra præ Ecclesiâ. Quis negat non inveniri. Sed nondum implebatur illa prophetia. Ecce nunc Reges intelligite, &c. Psal. 2. Aug. Epist.

48.
Optatus Me-
levita, l. 2.
Contra Parm.
"Οσοι δ' ἐλ-
λυσι ζην
ἐς οὐραν, τῶ-
τος δ' οὐραν
ἀπείρητο,
&c. *Eusebius*
de Vita Con-
stant. l. 2. c.

43. 44.

Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Καισαρείου ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἱστορίας. Ὁ ἄγιος &
Socratus Hist. l. 2. c. 6. *Nicophor* l. 8. c. 25.

bins

Chap. 4. *bius* tells us, that he not only caused their *Idol Temples* to be shut up, but prohibited *Sacrifices* to them. And this his zeal did not end only in destroying *Idolatry*, but extended to *Heresie* also. For, after the First Council of *Nice* had determined the Faith Controverted, *Constantine* made it an Offence Capital, so much as to conceal *Heretick Books*; as *Socrates* and *Nicophorus* relate. *Austine* likewise, in an Epistle against the *Donatists* sheweth, how after the *Donatists* Appeal to the Emperour, against *Felix* who ordained *Caciliannus*, had been heard and rejected by *Helianus* the *Proconsul*, and that he was declared Innocent, that *Constantine* the First made a Decree most strict against the *Donatists*; and that his Son after him followed therein his Steps, which continued until *Julians* Reign, who, *Desertor Christi & inimicus, supplicantibus vestris Rogatiano & Pontio, libertatem perditioni Partis Donati permisit*, An Apostate from Christ, and an Enemy, at the supplication of your *Rogatianus* and *Pontius*, gave Liberty to the pernicious Sect of *Donatus*. And *S. Ambrose* makes it no small matter of his praise of *Gratian*, That he brought peace and quietness to the Church, and stopped the mouths (of *Arians*;) and would to God (saith he) you could have shut the hearts of such wicked men, and mischief-
vons;

Augustinus
Epist. 166.
Donat. Felix
ipse iussu,
&c.

Ambros.
Epist. 26:
1d. De Fide
i. 3. c. 3.

dom; And that, this he did *aswel by the* Chap. 4.
Faith, as his own Power. And no wonder
 that Father should so write, who saith
 also, That *Hereticks are more abominable,*
than the very Jews that crucified Christ.

And *Theodoret* relates at large, how *Am-* *Hist. Eccles.*
philochius Bishop of *Iconium* prevailed *l. 5. c. 16.*

with *Theodosius*, to exclude the *Arian*
Conventicles out of the Cities. And *Bel-* *Bellarmin. in*
larmine, in the Life of *Theodosius* rela- *Vita Theod.*

teth, that *Honorius* and *Theodosius* pub- *p. 285.*
 lished an Imperial Edict, whereby they *c. 286.*

decreed, that the *Pelagians* should be
 wholly suppressed and expelled *Rome* :
 and after sent their Rescript to *Aurelius*,

Bishop of *Carthage* in which they Com-
 manded that they should be driven out
 of *Africa*. And, as Cardinal *Hosius* hath *Hosius De*
 observed, there is Extant amongst the *Concilio Oe-*

Proemial Epistles to the Council of *Cal-* *conom. c. 24.*
cedon, an Epistle of *Pulcheria* the Em-
 press to the Governour of *Bythinia*, to
 expel out of the City and Places, where
 that Council was to be held, all Clergy-
 men, Monks, and Lay-men, who would
 by no means be brought to the Council.

It is true indeed that *Valentinian* the
 Elder gave great Licence to almost all
 Sects and Heresies : but he who consi-
 ders the temper of that Prince will not
 long wonder at such his indifferency.
 He was in truth a gentle and good-
 natur'd man (as men speak commonly)

but

Chap. 4. but extremely addicted to the unlawful love of women, as appears by his assuming to himself, as wife, the beautiful *Justin*, being before lawfully wedded to virtuous *Severus*: And having thus notoriously offended against both Civil and Ecclesiastical Laws, it most needs be a torment to him to be noted for singularity in vice and irreligion. And therefore provided by Law to justifie his own coolness in Religion, that none should be persecuted for Religion, and refused to interpose in Religious matters, as not caring which end went forward, when his brother *Valens* was zealous for the *Arians*. And for this is he severely censured by *Socrates* and *Sozomen*. But can any man hope otherwise, or expect better of such a Voluptuous effeminate Prince as he was, who, being plunged in vice and wantonness, made it Lawful for any man who pleased to have two wives, should otherwise than favour and promote such a Licentiousness in Religion too? Or are the Decrees of such Princes, who egregiously offending against all that is Sacred in Religion and sober Laws, could heartily wish there were no such thing as Religion to accuse them, be esteemed as Competent Judges of Religion, and it's Concerns? It is true, what Bishop *Bilson* hath observed, concerning *Gratians* Toleration of all,

Socrates Eccl. Hist.
l. 4. c. 1.
Sozomenus,
l. 6. c. 6.

Bilson, True difference between Christian Subjection and, &c.
p. 19, 20.

all, at his First entrance into the Empire, That finding all places full of *Arians*; and the Laws of *Valens* his Uncle, making for them; Fearing some general Tumult, if he should presently distress so many, gave leave, that every Religion should have Churches and Oratories, with freedom and immunity; but being once settled and joyned with *Theodosius*, he commanded that all *Heresies* should keep silence for ever. And this was the course, as *Beda* well observeth, *Beda, l. 1. c. 26. Hist.* which *Ethelbert* the Saxon King took; who, being converted to the Christian Faith himself, gave order that none of his Subjects should be compelled to become Christians; only he shewed them most favour, and kindness, who embraced that Faith which he did. And the reason hereof, is observable in the same Author, *Didicerat enim & a Doctōribus, Autoribusque sue salutis, servitium Christi voluntarium, non coactitium esse debere*: For he learn'd from the Masters and Authors of saving Doctrine, That Christs Worship ought to be Voluntary, and not Compelled. But the First of our Nation, That by Law destroyed Idolatry, was *Ecombertus*, in the Year, 640. who also commanded that the Fast of fourty days should be observed through his whole Kingdom. *Matth. west-monasterien- sis. p. 224.* *Quæ ne facile à quopiam possint contemni, dignas punitiones fieri in transgressores*

Chap. 4. *transgressores jussit, saith Matthew of Westminster. Which lest any might condemn at his pleasure, he commanded that condign punishment should be inflicted on the breakers of it. And because it may be that some Hereticks will plead for favour, from the carriage of Ethelbert above mentioned, it is to be noted, that there is a vast difference between Hereticks and Schismaticks; and Heathens, who never had Knowledge of the Truth:*

as Bishop Bilson hath truly noted, upon the like occasion; saying, Hereticks, of all sects and sorts, may be compelled to follow truth, though Infidels might not; and so your Inference faileth when you say, No Law forceth Jews, or Pagans from their Perswasion, therefore not Christians. Nay rather, if we grant Jews, and Turks excusable for these two Reasons, Lack of Knowledge, and Want of Promise; certainly, Papists being neither void of the First, nor free from the Last, may, yea must, be compelled of Christian-Magistrates, for dread of Punishment temper'd with good Instructions, to forsake their Heresies, and forbear their Idolatries wherewith Christ is dishonored and his truth defaced. Thus he: Whereby their Plea is further made Void, who argue from Toleration of Heathen, over whom there is no Authority, the Liberty due to Christians, who do owe submission as well in general, by being

Members

Bilson Difference between Christian Subj. &c. p. 16.

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Members of such a Society, as particular, Chap. 4.

by way of Promise, either Implicite, or Explicite; which each man makes to the Body, to which he is to conform in all Lawful things in themselves: not measuring things Lawful by the Bent of our Consciences (than which nothing can be more proudly contrived) but by the straitness of some Rule superiour to them both. Now that Christian Antiquity was, much more than Heathen, of opinion that Idolaters, Heretiques, and Schismatiques ought by the severe and vigilant hand of the Protectours and Defenders of the Church and Faith to be bridled and suppressed, S. *Augustine* (of whom we shall speak more by and by) doth sufficiently declare, and that not by his single opinion, but these seven reasons, in an Epistle against the *Donatists*, *Augustinus* Epist. 43. who were no more Heretiques than such as from the Innocency of their Belief would perswade to Toleration. His arguments contracted are these. 1. *First* to suffer men in this manner were indeed to render evil for evil. i.e. They having injured the Faith, and afflicted and mischiefed the Church by their Religion, to suffer them, and let them alone, were to take revenge of them. Which answers a Plea for Licence to believe what men think fit: which I have heard from no mean Persons out of the Pulpit. 'Tis

Chap. 4. Punishment enough to erre in Faith of it
 self: and therefore, There needs no other.

'Tis true. But it is too great, and therefore charity, and not revenge requires a due restraint and correction. A Second

Argument is taken from the happy success in correcting such. Thirdly, Doctrine and Instruction without Terrour, and Terrour without Teaching, is ill.

4. Gods Example, who both Frights and Teaches. 5. Christs example, who with great force compelled *Saul* to the truth.

6. Who (saith he) doth not commend the Laws made by Emperours against sacrificing to Idols, by Pagans? 7. The Practice of Schismatiques themselves proves this. Thus *Austin*. And *Cyprian*, more

ancient than the *Nicene-council*, or *Constantin*, persecuted so far as he was able the *Novatians*, having no secular Power on his side; and so did other *Catholick-Bishops* after him, namely *Chrysostome*, and

Cyril of Hierusalem: for which some *Puritans* of our days with a fellow-feeling, as it were, of their brethrens sufferings, and a never failing Animosity against Bishops of all Ages, have not spared such

speeches as these, against them. *Chrysostome*, whom none can sufficiently praise, took away many Churches from the *Puritans*; but this same violence was thought the principal cause, for which that most

divine Person, suffering such calamities

*Meditatio
 de Antipuritanismo, p. 70
 Appendix
 ad Laudensium.
 Aulogeti-
 xevov.*

as

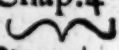
as soon oppressed him, died in Banishment; Chap.4. Cyril likewise oppressed the Puritans [i.e. Novatians] and this man besides many other evils and adversities which he endured, as well at home as abroad, is branded with this note of Infamy, that he was the First of all Bishops, that Lorded it; i.e. Introduced secular Pride and Tyranny into the Church. Let them beware, again and again, who in these days bear deadly enmity with Puritans, lest they pull upon their heads the ancient punishments of the persecutors of Puritans. Thus far that Frontless, and Witless Patron of Puritans, of the Scottish Faction, if I mistake not.

And here before we draw down the Practice of the Catholick Church any lower, because antiquity abounds with the like grievous complaints of Hereticks and Schismaticks being punished, as this age doth also; Let us consider a little what themselves did, when ever their strength served them.

The *Arrians*, (as we have shewed) were persecuted by the *Catholicks*, and having secular Authority on their side, did they not stir up most grievous Persecutions against the Church, upon all occasions? Are not all Histories full of their Impious and bloody pranks? In so much, that *Onuphrius* on the Life of *Sylvester* the First by *Platina*, says, The *Onuphrius in Sylvest.*

Chap.4. Nine Persecutions being taken away by *Constantine the Great*; the Tenth, from the *Arrians*, ensued, more dangerous than all the others: which, beginning under the Emperour *Constantius*, continued upon the Church of God in such manner, for Forty years together. So far *Onuphrius*; Whose Opinion might easily be confirmed by the Authorities of *Hilary of Poitiers*, *Hierome*, *Socrates*, *Theodoret*, and others; were not that superfluous Labour, in a matter confessed. From whence by the way we note the strange and vain confidence of Popish writers: against whom it being alledged by us, that the true Catholique Faith may be Inferiour, in number and reputation of Professours, to the unsound and Heretical; as it certainly was in the Reign of this *Constantius*, they endeavour to elude this pregnant Instance, by making *Constantius* Antichrist (as perhaps some of the Ancients speaking at large, and in heat of blood against him might say) and that according to the Prediction in the *Revelation of a Time, two Times, and half a time*, *Constantius* persecution, or the *Arrian* rather continued but for three years and an half; which is directly contrary to their own *Onuphrius* in the place above cited; and utterly false.

And

And were the *Donatists* any whit more Chap. 4.
favourable, and mild, when they had any, 
though but small advantage, over the *Ca-* *Optatus, l. 4.*
tholicks? He that reads *Optatus* against *& l. 6. Cont.*
Parmenianus, the many Treatises of *S. Au-* *Parmen.*
stine against them, the Conference of *Car-*
thage between the Schism of the *Donatists*
and the *Church catholick*, shall find, that
the same Faction which was ever most
querulous under Persecution, and moving
pitty and compassion in those that would
hear them, of their hard measure, and of
the unreasonableness of the civil Powers
interposing in such matters which ought
to be free, were themselves most cruel
and Violent against others; and especi-
ally, the Bishops and Clergy men suffer-
ed horrible things, which were tedious to
rehearse; they put out the Eyes of some;
and they cut off the Hand and Tongue
of one Bishop, and some they slew right-
our. *I say nothing of the cruel slaughters* *Et maxime*
(saith he) and Plundring of houses by neigh- *Episcopi &*
invasions, and burnings; and that not only, *Clerici hor-*
of private houses, but Churches also, into *renda & du-*
which flames there wanted not some who cast *ra perpeffi,*
in the Books of God Do not these words of *que comme-*
Austine come somewhat near a descripi- *morare lon-*
tion of our late furious and wicked zeal? *guin est;*
And what *Possidonius*, in the Life of *S. Au-* *quando quo-*
stine, addeth of this nature against that *rundam oculi*
Holy Bishop, calleth to our minds afresh, *extincti, &c.*
the Persecution of the Tongue against *August Epist.*
s. Vide &
Epist. 166.

Chap. 4. our Bishops: The Donatists (saith he)

railed at Augustine, called him seducer of souls, both publickly and privately, and said, That he ought to be slain as a wolf to their Flock, and that without doubt all their sins should be forgiven them, who could bring this to pass. And in another Epistle of S. Augustine, is the Inhumanity of those pure Zelots the Circumcellions, a branch of the Donatists, against such as differed in Opinion from them, described; concluding, In quibus omnibus illi non deponunt facta Latronum, & honorem sibi exigunt Martyrum. i. e. In all which, they cease not to act the parts of Assassins, and yet require the honour of Martyrs. And, so infinitely Devilish

and Malicious was their humour, that when they could not destroy the Orthodox by Butchering them, they would needs terrifie them, by Murdering themselves; and so, as Austine hath, either Solacing themselves in the destruction of us, or sadding us by their own Deaths. And such in some degree, do our days afford, who, because they cannot have their Will-worship, will put themselves into such an untractable and brutish posture, that if you let them alone, they have their ends; if you attempt to bring them to Justice, they will create great hatred to their Adversaries, by parting with their

Lives,

*Augustine
Epist. 68.
Id. l. 7. c. 83.
Cont. Literas
Petil. Id.
Cont. 2. Epist.
Gaudenii.*

*Quidam eorum misera-
bili instin-
ctu, & Deo
& Homini-
bus ingrati,
si suis cadi-
bus nos va-
stare non
possunt, suo
nos exitio
terrene cre-
dunt: aut
læticiam su-
am querentes
de mortibus
nostris, aut
tristitiam
nostram de
mortibus suis
Aug Epist. 61*

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Lives, rather than stir upon fair or ne- Chap. 4.
cessary means, or motives. To conclude,
It is the observation of S. Hierome, *We* Legimus, vi-
have read, we have seen, we have daily found dimus, qua-
it true, that when ever Persecution hath tidie que
arose in the Church, the Jews and Here- comproba-
ticks were always more grievous Per- mus; Quan-
secutors of the Christians than were the do persec-
Gentiles. tio contra

And therefore with S. Augustine a- Ecclesiam
gainst Petilian, I may say to our Here- oritur, multo
tical and Schismatical Enemies accusing peiores per-
us of persecuting such meek and peace- secutores
able spirited men as they would now Judaos &
seem to be, *Therefore for shame say not,* Hereticos,
Far be it from our Conscience, that we quam Ethni-
should compel any to our Faith. For ye do cos. Hierony-
it where you are able: And where ye do mus in Obad.
it not, ye are not able; either through v. 10.
fear of Laws, or Envy, or the number of Augustinus
Resisters of you. Cont. Literas
Petilian.
l. 2. c. 89.

CHAP. V.

A Continuation of the former Subject, and particularly, of putting Hereticks and Schismatics to Death.

IN man may be said to be a Two-fold Life, Natural and Civil. The First is an Union of the Natural parts of a man; which being dislevered, death follows; understanding here the principal which are either simply Essential, as the Soul and Body; or such, as are therefore called Vital, because being corrupted, or taken away, a separation of the more Essential parts do immediately follow. Mans Civil Life is that, whereby he being a member of the Civil Body; separated from that (as all Integral parts of a Body Natural) loses that life of common Influence and Protection. Hence it is, that some Civil Lawyers do interpret Capital Punishment so often denounced against *Hereticks* in the Civil Law, of the later Death; as doth *Huckleman*, and some others.

others. The Imperial Constitutions, which Chap. 5.
 absolutely inflict Capital Punishment on He-
 reticks, are not to be understood of Na- *Constitutiones Imp. Sim-*
 tural, but Civil death, as Transportation *pliciter capitis poenam*
 and such like. But I make no doubt, but *infigentes*
 this is too favourable, and forced an Ex- *Haereticis non*
 position, as he that shall observe the *de Naturali*
 Practice, the best comment on the Law, *sed de Civili*
 must confess. For when the Code, *Capite asse-*
 saith, *Manichaei undique expelluntur & rit. Wessemb-*
capite puniuntur. And immediately be- *beck: in*
 fore, *Manichaeo, in loco Romano degere* *Par. num. 6.*
deprehenso, caput amputatur, i. e. The *Huckelmanus*
Manichees are to be expell'd, and punish'd *Illustr. Disp.*
Capitally, The Manichee that shall be found *34. Thes. 14.*
in the Roman Territory shall have his head *lit. 6.*
cut off; cannot be meant of a Civil Head. *Cod. l. 1. Tit. 5*
I confess the most common punishments *Cod. l. 1. Tit. 3*
are such, as we read in the same Title *Secl. 4.*
against the Manichees and Donatists, *Volamus esse*
made by Honorius and Theodosius Em- *publicum c. i.*
perors, viz. 1. "We decree it a Pub- *men, &c.*
 "lick Offence; because an Offence a-
 "gainst Divine Religion is an injury to
 "all: Wherefore we Persecute such
 "with the Confiscation of all their
 "Goods. 2. We will likewise that
 "they be Defeated of all Liberality and
 "Succession coming to them by any Ti-
 "tle whatever. 3. Furthermore, we
 "leave such no Power to give, or buy,
 "or sell, or make bargains, being con-
 "vict. 4. Inquiry ought to be made at
 his

Chap. 5. "his Death. For if it be Lawful in
 "matters of Treason, to tax the memo-
 "ry of the dead; not undeservedly
 "ought there here also to pass a judge-
 "ment. 5. Therefore his last Writing is
 "to be Null, whether by Will, or Codi-
 "cil, or any other way, he hath made
 "his Testament; if found to be a *Mani-*
 "*chee*. 6. Neither do we suffer his Sons
 "to Inherit, unless they forsake their
 "Fathers Errours. For we allow Pardon
 "to the Penitent. 7. We like well,
 "that they feel the sting of our Autho-
 "rity, who shall entertain them in their
 "Houses, by a culpable providing for
 "them. 8. And we Will, that their
 "Servants be faultless, if avoiding such
 "Sacrilegious Masters, they pass into
 "the Catholick Church by a more *Faith-*
 "*ful Service*."

Thus far the Imperial *Edict* of *Theodo-*
sine, whereby we may easily discern how
 severe the Ancients were in chastising
Hereticks, and the several kinds of Pu-
 nishments devised against them.

Photius No-
 mocas. Tit.
 19. c. 25.

But it is not to be denied that Later
 Emperours, and the Church of Greece af-
 terward, were more mild in their De-
 crees against Hereticks; and as it ap-
 pears from *Balsamon* in his Comment
 on *Photius* his *Nomocanon* the Greek
 Church approves not at this day the
 putting to death of Hereticks. For first
 he

he tells us there, how the *Basilica* Chap. 4.
 or Collection and Repurgation of the
 Code and Digests made by *Leo* the Em-
 perour, Son to *Basilius Macedo*, miti-
 gate the Severities of Them against
 Hereticks, Witches, Apostates, and Ma-
 gicians: And therefore *Ἐπιτιμωθέντες οἱ*
καταπαύσαντες Δυναστεύοντες, &c. Note
 (saith *Balsamon*) that however before
 the purging of the Digests and Code such
 things were of force in the Commonwealth;
 under Capital punishment were comprehen-
 ded Burning, Beheadings, Crucifixings, yet
 the Emperour who purged the Laws and
 composed the *Basilica* admitted not these
 three — but made Captivity, Putting
 out the eyes, Cutting of the hands, and
 the like, Capital punishments. But this
 being so, why did the Greek Church
 sollicite the Turk to Cut off the Head of
 their late Patriarch *Cyril* of *Constanti-*
nople, upon suspicion of favouring too
 much a Reformation? But this was
 thought the procurement of the Papists
 there, to prevent the evil was like to
 happen to their Church, should the
 Greeks side more with us. But the great
 question is, Whether it be just to punish
 Hereticks with Death, according to the
 Judgement of the Ancient Church? The
 first instance of such severity, is that of
Priscillianus; who was put to Death for
 his Heresie; about which I find the Fa-
 thers

Chap. 5. thers themselves divided. *Hierome* a-
 gainst *Ctesiphon* seems not only to ap-
 prove of it himself but to say, that the
 whole Christian Church consented there-
 to, *Quid loquar* (saith he) *de Priscil-*
iano, qui & Seculi gladio, & totius Orbis
authoritate damnatus est? Why should
 I speak of *Priscillianus*, who was Con-
 demned by the Secular Sword, and the
 Authority of the whole World? But
Severus Sulpitius liked not this Fact, as
 appears by his words, *Priscillianus cum*
sociis Capite plectuntur, pessimo exemplo
necati. *Priscillianus* with his complices
 are beheaded, being killed with a very ill
 precedent. And *Theognostus* condemned
Idacius, or *Ithacius Clarus* an eminent
 Bishop of Spain, as witnesseth *Isidorus*
Hispalensis, because he procured the
 death of *Priscillian*, as did also other
 Catholick Bishops, as a bloody man:
 yet, by a Council held at *Triers*, about
 the year 386, he was absolved by the
 favour and intercession of the Emperour
Maximus, by whose Authority it was
 done. *S. Augustine* is known to have
 been of an opinion once, that *Hereticks*
 ought not at all to be compelled to the
 true Faith; but afterward his judge-
 ment altered, and that (as he saith)
 from the experience he had of the ex-
 cellent effect such coercion had; and
 especially, in that divers, who at first
 took

Hierom Ad-
versus Ctes-
iphon.

Severus Sul-
pit. Sacre
Hist. Lib.

Isidor. Hisp.
De Viris Il-
lustr. c. 2.

Vide Bayon.
Ann. 386.
nn. 25.

Aug. Epi. 48.

took upon them the profession upon Chap. 5.
 compulsion, afterward embraced it sincerely and freely: And in the same Epistle answereth the allegation of *Peitro Paolo* above mention'd, which the *Donatists* likewise urged against the *Catholicks* persecuting them, viz. No example is to be found either in the Evangelists, or Apostles writings, whereby any thing was begged of Earthly Kings in behalf of the Church, against the Churches Enemies. *Quis negat non inueniri* (saith *Augustin.* he)? *Sed nondum implebatur illa prophetia, Et nunc Reges intelligite, &c.* *Epist. 48.* *Psal. 2. i.e. Who denies that? for as yet, that Prophecie was not Fulfilled, And now understand ye Kings, &c.* Yet do I not find that this Father approved of killing *Hereticks*; but in another Epistle proceeds in a milder, and middle way, that is, *Neither to Tolerate the Heresie, nor Condemn the Heretick to Death*; because that were to cut off all possibility of Repentance, and Reconciliation to God, and the Church; which is very hard to deny any man, before God doth; And that God doth, no man can say, so long as he granteth him life: As *S. Austine* *August.* argueth upon *Matthew*, saying, *Man is* *Quaest. in* *not so stated in this life, that it can be cer-* *Matth. 12.* *tainly known what he will be hereafter* *Non ita Hominem con-* *whose error at present is visible, And* *sicutum esse* *therefore such are not to be taken out of* *in hac, &c.* *this*

Chap. 5. *this life, lest while one endeavours to slay the wicked, he destroys him who haply might have been good.* Thus he. But does not this reason prove too much? Certainly upon this very ground, *Socinus*, against the practice and judgement of all the world, disputes against the putting to death of the greatest Civil Malefactours. Yet I suppose his argument may be answered thus, and not the other. For as much as scarce is it Lawful to put any man to death for any such offense, which the Malefactor himself shall not judge a notorious crime, and so may Repent of it. But many Errours, and they great in Religion, cannot so plainly be discerned by the guilty, and therefore he cannot repent, until it shall please God to turn his heart extraordinarily. And to me, it seemeth not very difficult to answer *Thomas* his Arguments and *Bellarmines* who are for the death of *Hereticks*.

Faustus Socinus in Epist.

*Thom. 22.
qu. 11. Art. 3*

Thus then argues *Thomas*. If he may be burnt who counterfeits money. Why should not he that Forges, and Publishes false Doctrine? "If he that counterfeits the Kings Letters deserveth death, What doth he that counterfeits, that falsifies the Scriptures and the Divine Letters of the Lord? To which *Ribadenira* adds, A woman that breaks the Conjugal Faith made to her Husband,

Chap. 5.

"band, ought to die; and not much
 "more he, who keeps not his Faith with
 "God? And he that takes away the
 "Life of another unlawfully, suffers the
 "the loss of his own for it; shall not
 "he therefore who destroys his own,
 "and neighbours Soul? To these pretty
 Analogies and colourable arguments for
 the Death of *Hereticks*, we readily an-
 swer, by granting all that the arguments
 crave, which is, that *Hereticks* deserve
 to suffer as much, and more if you please,
 than such notorious offenders against the
 Commonwealth, and Civil Justice. But
 must therefore this punishment be neces-
 sarily corporal, and outward as the other,
 whose cause is Civil? this, by *Thomas* his
 good leave, follows not. But rather
 the contrary. That their Punishment
 should be Proportionable to their of-
 fense; Their offense was Spiritual, and
 their sufferings must be such too: their
 offense was greater, and so shall their
 punishment be in Soul by eternal Death.
 And this answers *Bellarmines* six argu-
 ments to prove that *Hereticks* ought to
 suffer such Capital Punishment. First,
 because, as all confess, *Hereticks* may be Ex-
 communicated lawfully, therefore they may be
 kill'd: The Consequence is thus proved;
 Because Excommunication is a greater pu-
 nishment than temporal Death. To which
 I answer, That therefore it should have

Bellarmin. De
Laicis. l. 3. c.
21. 5. Probatur, &c.

Chap. 5. a greater death; but that, that death must be of the same kind, doth not follow, that is, temporal. Secondly, he saith *Experience teacheth that there is no other remedy*. But I deny any such experience: For I make no doubt but the punishments mentioned even now in the Code, will in a short time extirpate *Hereticks*; and perhaps sooner, considering what a pride some *Hereticks* take in suffering, even death, for their errors. Thirdly, His Third is that with *Thomas* his, viz. *Hereticks* are Cheats and Counterfeits. And so is his Fourth taken from a Womans falseness to her Husband. The Fifth is, because All the reasons that *Galen* alledged against Malefactors, hold here. *Ans.* First, That they should be punished, they do: Secondly, that they should be punished with death also, but not necessarily with Natural death; but Civil death may suffice here, and Eternal death hereafter. Sixthly, (Lastly) he saith, It is a kindness to take obstinate *Hereticks* out of this life; for the longer they live, the more Errors they devise; and increase greater damnation to themselves. *Ans.* We must distinguish between temporary, and perpetual obstinacy: And between that which may be, and is certainly known to Judges for to be. Judges must proceed according to the Evidence of the Fact, not the probability.

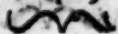
probability. But no man can certainly Chap. 5.
know, that, how ever a person be Actual-
ly obstinate, he will persist in the same to
his Death.

But, notwithstanding there be no more
than we have heard in Reason, or Reli-
gion, for their putting to death, and not
many examples are to be found in Anti-
quity; yet for the last Five hundred
years since Christ, hath it been but too
much put in practice under *Roman-Ty-
ranny*. For that Hot-spur *Genebrard*,
whose design it was to give us an account
of the Churches Practice, speaking in de-
fence of that cruelty shewed against the
Kathari (or *Puritans*) who were burnt
at *Colen*, in the year of our Lord 1163. *Genebrard.*
meerly for Religion, and that none of *Chronol.*
the worse; (unless all be true which *Ann. 1163.*
Ecbertus living about that time writes *Ecbertus*
against them, as a branch of the *Adversus*
Mani- Catharos
chaan Heresie, extant in *Bibliotheca, P. P.*) *Biblioth. P. P.*
and endeavouring to justify that Fact *Antar. 2. p.*
from ancient Precedents of the Church, *832. & 834.*
could, it should seem, find none much
above 60. years older than that; and
that was of that *Arch-heretick Basilus*
a Physician, who in the year of Christ
1102. was by the Command of the Em-
perour *Alexius* burnt at *Constantinople* for
his *Heresi*. This was the Heresie of the
Bogomili as *Balsamon* calleth them, and *Balsamon,*
not *Bongomili* as *Baronius* terms them; *ubi supra.*
Baron. An.
1118. nu. 27.

Chap. 5. *Basilus* a cunning close dissembler being the Leader. But *Balsamon* approves not the fact, but yet excused *Alexius* as doing it before the Law was reversed, and because they were a sort of Hereticks that sought their own death, out of a pride of becoming Martyrs. The *Nicene* Council thought it sufficient to Banish *Arius* the Archheretick. But *Theodosius* and *Valentinian* added Corporal punishment. Afterward, as *Polydore Vergil* writeth, *Frederick* the first about the year 1180. made a Law that Hereticks should be burnt. About which time *Lucius* the Third, Bishop of *Rome* decreed that such as were of on Orders, and were Hereticks, should first be degraded, then committed to the Civil Powers to be put to death by fire: herein imitating the Law of *Moses*. And after-Ages abound with so many sad Instances of that nature, that it were superfluous and tedious to rehearse them: From all which, I only infer thus much: That they, who generally approved, and practised such extreme rigour, could not but much more commend such more moderate means of reducing, restraining, and extinguishing them. And I presume, if I can shew what much more severe course hath been used towards Hereticks and Schismatics since our Reformation in *England*, it will not appear so great inhumanity, to put

*Polydorus
Vergilius. De
Invent. Re-
rum, l. 8. c. 4.*

Dent. 13.

in strict execution such Laws as have Chap. 3.
of old and later days, been made against
them. 

In the Raigh of *Henry* the Third, saith *Hollingshed*, were two *Impostors* hanged, for giving out, that they were *Christs*. In the Raigh of *Richard* the Second, and *Henry* the Fourth of *England*, Statutes were made for the putting *Hereticks* to death; which stood in force until the Raigh of *Henry* the Eighth, who caused them to be repealed: but in lieu of them, he made such an *Edit* (consisting of Six Articles, called therefore, The Whip with the six strings) that thereby, the Life's Blood of many a good and sober Christian was taken from them. But in the First of *Queen Mary*, the former Statutes, as more for her Bloody purposes, were revived and re-inforced: of which, as a thing too apparent for Impudence it self to encounter, I shall not speak at present, and but touch afterward.

But neither have there been wanting instances since the Reformation, of such Capital Punishments executed. For in the Fourth year of *Edward* the Sixth, or Third (as *Mr. Stow* hath it) *Joan Butcher*, otherwise called *Joan Knell*, and vulgarly *Joan of Kent*, was burn'd for her *Heresies* denying *Christ* to have taken *Flesh* of the *Virgin Mary*. And on

*Stow Ch. vi.
Art. 3. Ed. 6.*

Chap. 5. the 24th. of April, the same year, *George Paris*, a *Dutchman*, was burnt in *Smithfield* for *Arianism*: And in the same Kings's Raigh, an *Anabaptist* of *Colchester* was burned. And truly, he that is of an Opinion, that no man ought to suffer death purely for Religion, may notwithstanding approve of the putting to death such as shall bear false witness, in such a Case at least, as that of professing themselves to be that Person they in truth are not, whereby manifest and intolerable evils are done to private Persons; but much more to the Weal-publike; when one shall pretend himself to be some Prince, or Publike person: Much more therefore he that shall have the Impudence to give out that he is Christ (have he a particular *Cant* of his own to evade the common sense his words import, when he comes into danger) ought no less to undergo death, than he that shall seek to Translate the Government of a People, properly belonging to another Prince, upon himself. And as for *Anabaptists*, though I think their Dogm's are a little purg'd of late, over what some years since they have been, (as most *Hereticks*, and *Schismatics* are; when they perceive they will not take, nor be endur'd in their original Rankness): yet, if they stick but to one or two, charged commonly on

on them, such as are, Denying to the Chap. 5.
 Civil Magistrates Power of the Sword; and affirming an Exemption of (their) Saints from humane Laws; suffering corporal death for the same; they have no wrong done them; neither can they plead Religion to protect them in causes of Civil cognisance, as they are. And to hold an opinion (as many now adays do) that their Governors have no Authority Ecclesiastical over them, in things neither forbidden nor commanded by God's word, is to draw very much nearer to the pernicious Extremes of the *Anabaptist*, than can consist with the good opinion such have of themselves, and would beget in others of being very moderate Men. But I return.

In the third of *Queen Elizabeth*, one *Stow An. 3d*
Jeffery taught publicly, That *John Moor* of *Q. Eliz.*
 was Christ; who were both first whipt, and then upon repentance were committed to Prison for half a year. This was a favour shown upon repentance. The more pitiful and strangely tender conscienc'd Judges were they, in the Houses called a Parliament of late years, who could discharge *James Naylor* an Impostor, as foul and blasphemous as any of his Predecessors, without any considerable notes of true repentance. So far did the Doctrine of Liberty of Conscience drive many Patrons of it.

Chap. 3.

Again, in the Seventeenth year of Queen Elizabeth, twenty-seven *And* *Stow in Eliz.* baptists were brought to justice, where of two were burnt in *Smithfield*; four renounced their Heresies at *Pauls Cross*, and thereupon were released, the rest were condemned to die, but were only banished. In the twenty one year of the same Queen, one *Hammond*, a most insolent *Arian*, denied Christ to be God, and blasphemed Him, and the Gospel, and was burnt in *Norwich*: And about three years after, one *John Lewis* was burnt in the same place for the like Heresie. And in the Reign of King James one *Legate* was burnt in *Smithfield* for *Arianism*.

For King James his Reign, and Queen Elizabeth's, it is generally known how they put not any Papist to death for their Religion, though presently they were Sainted for dying in the *Romane* cause, and, as they will have it, for Religion; and if they will have it so, so let it pass, for me: But then we must take leave to turn to, and adhere to our old Notes, which tell us of their Faith; that it is Faction; and their Religion, Rebellion. For, were it so that the Laws interdicting *Papish* Priests of this Nation, bred and ordained beyond the Seas, from coming into this Nation, were put in execution, this were no such

such sanguinary practice as many Popish Chap. 5.
Ministers loudly and indeed childishly give out. For I would know whether the Supreme power of this, as well as any other Nation, have not power to inflict the punishment of banishment upon lighter causes than this? For instance, Might it not be reasonable for an Act of Banishment to take place upon all such as should transport Wool, or Fullers-earth into foreign Countries? The person that should do this returns into *England*, and is put to death, according to the Law. But he cannot be said to be put to death for having transported prohibited Commodities, but for breaking the Law of his Banishment. No more can Popish Priests, taking Orders from that Church, and returning, be said to suffer for taking Orders, or for their Religion, but for breaking the Act of their Banishment; for, by Law they all stand banished; and if a greater punishment than banishment be not annexed to that Decree to make it good, instead of being sanguinary it will become ridiculous and ludicrous and so will the Authors of such Laws also. In the year, One thousand six hundred forty & one, *Ward, Walker, or Waller* (for, as I take it, the man after the *Roman* custom had three or four names) being a Popish Priest was hanged at *Tyburn*, where he confessed, he had

Chap. 5. been banished no fewer than three or four times. Do not such mockeries, and contempt of Laws as this, deserve death, yea, though the Law it self were unreasonable?

And now, as to the other side, with which we have to do, the *Puritan* Faction; let us see how they have been proceeded against; before these three last Decads of years, and whether it be so new and strange a matter that they should be molested, or oppressed; and the rather because of that Officious Author of the *Interest of England*, who puts on the Countenance of a Moderator, and grave and wise decider of the point of Toleration: but alas, besides his many lamentable failings, he could not keep on his Mask above a leaf or two; and in a certain place speaks thus, much more boldly than knowingly or truly. Take

Corbets Interest of England, p. 129. notice that the Episcopal Clergy did not go about to exterminate the Puritans before their latter times; and then he that had half an eye could discern the notable advance and the confident expectation of the Popish Faction. And may not he that hath never a bit of an eye perceive, what is so palpable, that since the Puritans had such influence, and favour shown them as of late, the Popish Faction is advanced ten times more than when they were better kept under? And this partly

ly

ly through the infinite scandal given to our Reformation by them; partly, forsooth, that for their tender Consciences sake, such an indulgence and connivence general must be allowed, that Papists (who have no less to show for a Toleration than have they) must be comprehended in it too. But what doth this Man mean to write so at a venture? but that which moves them all, prevail'd with him, viz. that the common people would not trouble themselves so far as to suspect what he says, while he speaks what they would have him. What think you of those that Doctor *Crackenthorp* says against the Fugitive Bishop of *Salto*, (who for that reason, that Puritans were tolerated in England, took a prejudice against the Church of England) 33. were persecuted for their Consciences? Was not *Cartwright* cast into Prison? Was not *Brightman* degraded, and put from his Priesthood? Were not *Wigington*, *Culverwel*, *Salesbury*, *Field*, *Hildersb*, *Parker*, *Stoughton*, *Smith*, *Jackson*, and others, turned out of their Livings, and suspended from their Priests Office? *Udal* and *Penry* adding to their obstinacy revilings of the Queen's Majesty, one of them was put to death, and the other received capital sentence, and was punished? Were all these or any of these of so late standing as you mean? Do we
not

Chap. 5.

*Crackenth.
Defens. Eccl.
Anglicana
Con. Archie-
pisc. Spa. c.*

Chap. 5. not hear of most lamentable complaints of old, made by the Puritans, of the sore persecution they ever sustained, and do they now accuse later times, holding the former innocent? The Letters between the Lord *Burleigh* and Archbishop *Whitgift* are yet extant, whereby it appears that there were very many Ministers turn'd out of their Benefices in those days, in the County of *Essex* and *Kent*, only for scrupuling the Rites and Ceremonies of our Church. And more for the satisfaction of others, who are apt to think Civil severity too much for the Church to have on their side against such Men as these, than for this Authors sake; Consider what *Sir George Paul* writes in the Life of Bishop *Whitgift*, and we shall be easily convinc'd that our Church acts no new thing, nor the Civil Magistrates so much as was wont to be done in behalf of the Church in the earlier days of Reformation. *Thomas Cartwright* and *Edmund Snape*, with others, were called in question, and proceeded withal in the Star-Chamber for setting forth and putting in practice, without warrant or Authority, a New Form of Common Prayer, Administration of Sacraments and Presbyterial Discipline in the year 1591. Again, the Queen was offended that *Cartwright* should preach without Subscription. Again, Good execution of Laws (his own words)

Fuller Eccl. Hist. An. 1583.

Sir George Paul his life of Bishop Whitgift. pag. 40.

Id. pag. 54.

words) against Puritans kept things **Chap. 5.**
 quiet; especially by the assistance of the
 Lord Chancellor *Hutton*. And had he who *Id. pag. 55.*
 so lately bare that name and office dealt
 more sincerely and uprightly towards the
 Church, I suppose he had had no more to
 answer for, either before God or Man,
 than now he hath. Again, he proceeds.
 After him, Sir *John Packer* was a friend *Id. pag. 58.*
 to the Church. And lastly, Sir *Thomas E-* *Id. ibid.*
gerton Lord Keeper was very careful to
 suppress the fore said *Libels*. And those *Li-*
bels were none other but the religious
 stuff invented and vented against the
 Church of *England*, and the Assertors
 thereof.

Add hereunto the excellent Counsel
 given by a most experienced King to his
 Son *Charles the First*, who out of his Infi-
 nite facility; and marchless Charity to-
 wards Puritans, declining this Rule, what
 his personal experience cost him in ma-
 king proof of their fair promises and
 good nature; we had thought would never
 have been forgotten: but it is. However
 let us hear what King *James* observed. If
 (saith he) you shall use Clemency in the be-
 ginning, the number of Offenders will become
 infinite, and you become contemptible: and
 when you would punish, the number of the
 Guilty will be greater than the Innocent: and
 it will not be easie to discern from whence you
 should begin to punish. And so you must de-
 stroy

Basilicon Do-
ron, p. 145.

Chap. 5. *They divers against your Will, whom by reasonable punishment you might have preserved. You may be more wary by mine example, for I seeking to draw the People to the Obedience of Laws by my mildness, it fell out on the contrary that all things were filled with tumults, and I received not so much as thanks for requital.*

And this may suffice to have shown what the Ancient Churches judged of Hereticks, and Schismaricks, and the allowance of them, and what our Church hath done in reference to them. It is now more than time that we come to shew what both the opinion and practise of both of them have been towards us; that so, if there be remaining any Candor in the breasts of these importunate demanders of the same, they may blush to require it, or, at least, give us leave not to blush to deny the same. And the God of all Justice do that which is right in his eyes between us. And first let us hear the Papist, as briefly as the cause will permit.

C H A P.

CHAP. VI.

*Papists directly and absolutely against
Toleration of many Religions, or any
besides their own.*

WE have shewn out of *Thomas* and *Ballarmine* already, that Heretics ought to be put to death, and why; and he, that will be further satisfied therein, may easily turn to Commentators on *Thomas*, and find his opinion confirmed and justified, without any further trouble here undertaken, to the drawing out this discourse to a length more tedious, than necessary to the Reader. Only from hence we may infer, what is a manifest consequent to what hath been said, viz. That if such may be cut off so by the Secular sword, they, according to such mens judgement, may and ought to be restrained and suppressed by punishments of an inferior rank, and milder nature; unless it be said by Papists (as in truth it is by some) what the Presbyterians say for themselves, as we have shewed, That Prelatists may and ought to come to the Presbyterians, but the Presbyterians cannot, nor ought to come to the Prelatists; That punishment ought to be taken of the Evangelical [Professors] that

*Johan. Hou-
lettus Præ-
fatione ad
Regiam Ma-
jestatem: a-
pud Hum-
phredum Ad-
monit: de
Curie Roma-
ne Praxi
contendit, de
Evangelicis
posse, de Ro-
manensibus
non posse su-
mi suppli-
cium.*

Chap. 6. that is, the *Reformed*, but the *Romanists* ought not to be punished. So Demonstrative are the reasons, and so ingenuous are the writings of both Papist and Puritan. But we must not altogether be guided by such Oracles as speak so broadly and vainly. If there be any such thing remaining or to be respected in the World, sure this is reason, that Mens testimonies should conclude against themselves, when there is nothing but disadvantage to them which make their cases different. For, neither the one nor the other can modestly deny the Principles and Doctrine of the Church of *England* to be lets inconsistent with the Civil Government, and not so rank in persecution of opinions differing from it, as are they; and yet forsooth they, where they cannot persecute, must not be persecuted or touched; where they can, must not be questioned. Now that the *Romanists* will not endure any competition in Religion, appears by what is said above; and by these several instances.

Hic Hereticos & Schismaticos non-lentes ad firmiorem doctrinam reduci rationibus, seculari manu coerceri posse definiuit. *Funcius* Comment. Chronol. l. 8.

In the year of our Lord Five hundred fifty five, as *Funcius* tells us, *Pelagius* was made Bishop of *Rome* in the room of *Vigilius*, by the Emperour *Justinian*. This Man (saith he) defined that Hereticks and Schismaticks, who refused to be brought home to sound Doctrine, were to be restrained by the Secular Power. And that this hath

hath been the current judgement of that **Chap. 6.**
 Church, their Modern writers declare. Do they not make this Defence of
 theirs, and Offence of their Enemies Religion, one of their First Principles
 and Documents which they season Prin-
 ces with? Let the Work of Ribadeneira
 the Jesuite speak for all. In the year
 1597 he wrote a Treatise in Spanish. Printed at *Antwerp*. Of the Virtues of a Christian Prince, The Subjects of some of
 the Chapters of which Book are these.

Ribadeneira
de las vir-
tudes del
Principe
Christian, l.
1. c. 24. c. 23,
26, 27, 28.


That it is impossible, that Hereticks and
 Catholicks should make a good League, in
 one and the same Commonwealth. Chap. 24.
 Examples of Certain Emperours, who suf-
 fer'd not many Religions. Ch. 23. The same
 is proved by the Authority, and Examples
 of Saints. Chap. 26. That Hereticks
 ought to be punished: and how prejudicial
 Liberty of Conscience must be, Chap. 27.
 That Heresies are the Causes of Revolutions
 and Ruines of States, Chap. 28. From
 such Titles as these, it is easie to divine,
 what is contained in that Work: I
 have thought good to leave all to the in-
 genuity of the Reader to judge, rather
 than to exceed in unnecessaries. This
 Authour, (as saith the Catalogue of the
 Writers of the Jesuites Society) is tran-
 slated, by one *Everard* a Jesuite of *Sus-*
folk, into *English*, which yet I have not
 seen. To this Author, let us add one of
 the

Chap. 6.

*Becanus De
Fide Hæreli-
cis servan-
da, Contra
Paranm.*

the same Fraternity, *Becanus*, in a treatise against *Parans*: where he lays down this as a Second Principle, *Liberty of Religion and Faith is unlawful, and contrary to Christian Doctrine, and hurtful and pernicious to the Commonwealth.* His Reasons are these. First, *Because, as Divines teach very right, Heresie is a greater sin than Adultery, Murther, or Theft.* Secondly, *The Doctrine of Christ is true: But true and false are contrary.* Thirdly, *Liberty is hurtful: First, In respect of the Salvation of Souls; Secondly, In respect of outward Peace and Tranquillity: For this cannot be preserved without Unity of Faith.*—— A third Principle of his is this, *A Catholick Prince can neither prescribe, approve, or introduce Liberty of Religion, but must hinder the same, as much as possibly he can. But yet, if he cannot hinder it without greater damage to the Publick good, he may permit it, as the less Evil: Hitherto Becanus.* Now it is apparent to any impartial observer of the course of things, and the tempers and manners of men, that the cause of our divisions is the loose rains cast on the neck of the *Restie* people: and the principal grounds of our distractions, and the dangers feared therefrom, proceed from Liberty granted, not denied: whereby men, beyond their hopes and purposes once, have been tempted and emboldened to think

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Rel
fide
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Stat
dise
as t
his
land
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in E
and
disag
othe
thes
havin
and
since
jesty
have
Pam
Pri

think better of themselves, and more Chap. 6.
 contemptibly of others in Authority, 
 and to commend and urge what they
 themselves look'd upon as forlorn and
 desperate, the other day. 'Tis certain-
 ly hope, not fear which makes them mu-
 tinously inclined. And that very Vil-
 lain Parsons, in a Treatise of *Mitigation*, Parsons Mi-
 titation, c. 2.
 num. 5. writeth thus, *We agree with the Prote-*
stants in this, that there can be no agree-
ment between us and them in Religion. Yea,
 so far did this mans Zeal hurry him for
 Religion, who himself was by his own
 side suspected to be an *Atheist* in heart,
 that presuming at length by his many
 State-stratagems, and Treasonable Pra-
 ctises, to subvert both Church and State,
 as they were then established, one of
 his requests to the Pope was, that Eng- Sheldens
 third Gene-
 ral Motives
 pag. 5.
 land being reduced to his Model, none
 other *Popish* Orders might be Tolerated
 in England save the *Jesuites*, *Carthusians*
 and *Franciscans*, which were not like to
 disagree so much as *Secular Priests* with
 other Orders and the *Jesuites*; while
 these kept to their particular Rules of
 having all they can lay their hands on,
 and they of having nothing. And even
 since the Restauration of his Present Ma-
 jesty, the Emulation and Animosities
 have been so great, that after several
 Pamphlets. For, and Against *Secular*
Priests and *Jesuites*, the *Secular Priests*
 I with

Chap. 6. with the assistance of some of other Orders undertook with some Great Persons that, upon condition they might have a Toleration (which is the most that any Faction did at first Petition for) they would take care, that the *Jesuites* should never be admitted in *England*:

See the Treatise of the Seculars Intitled Check, or Enquiry into the late, &c. and The Jesuites reasons unreasonable.
An. 1594.

of which, Mr. *Cressie*, that busie *Apostate*, can give you a farther account. But when a man considers how that subtil, industrious, and powerful Faction hath baffled all the severest *Edicts* against them in such Countries where *Papery* flourishes, he will scarce believe that such a device could take effect, or, if it did, could continue long. Could any Decree be more solemn, or sharp against them, than that made by *Henry* the Fourth of *France*? whereby the *Jesuites* were all to depart *Paris* within Three days, and within Fifteen, to forsake the whole Kingdom; and a Pillar to be erected in Publike, for Posterity to read their wickedness and doom; for the Assassination of that Great Prince in his own Chamber, by a young bird *John Chastel* of about eighteen years of age, of the *Jesuites* bringing up: And yet such was their Dexterity, Disimulation, and Interests with *Pope* and all *Princes* of their Religion, that about Ten years after, the very same King should be imposed upon so far, as to demolish the Monument

ment of their Wickednes; repeal his **Chap. 6**
 Banne, restore them again: And in the
 very same year (as most then, and there
 living judged) being Murthered right-
 out by *Ravilliac* instigated by those holy
 men; they not only escaped censure,
 but carried the matter with such artifice,
 that the Kings heart must be given to
 them, as his best Friends; and con-
 veyed to a Convent of theirs at *La*
Flech: Notwithstanding, thus much *Ra-*
villiac confessed (who would confess
 but little) that by reading *Mariana* the
Jesuite's Book he was impelled to com-
 mit that Fact: Whereupon *Cotton* the
Jesuists Chief Father, wrote a Book to
 the Queen, endeavouring to shew that
 they held no such opinions: But ano-
 ther Author wrote a Book, which he
 entituled *Anti-Cotton*, wherein he mani-
 festly proved the contrary. And if it be
 said in their Defence, that *Anti-Cotton*,
 was also answer'd; it will make but very
 little for their Cause, if we consider that
 this was done by that Impudent face of
Joannes Eudamon: whose Jesuitical
 Tongue spared no monstrous lies that
 could colour their Cause; and the same
 man in the same Volumn writes an Apo-
 logy; For *Straw-Saint Garnet*, a desperate
 Convicted Traitour in the Powder-Con-
 spiracy. *Cotton* himself likewise wrote a-
 gainst it, but not answered it.

Chap. 6. And did not the State of *Venice* in *Paul* the Fifths time, upon discovery of their treacherous, and mischievous Pranks, expel them their Dominions, adding a Law after them, which made it Deprivation, and loss of Nobility to him that should ever speak in favour of them : as *Pietro Paolo* writeth ; yet have they so brought it about, by the *Pope* their singular Friend ; and by the *Turk* their happy Enemy ; and lastly, by their infinite Treasure, That admittance and well-come is granted them into their Countries.

See *Pietro Paolo* his Declaration of the Variance, &c. p. 32 33, & 36.

But to return : Judge we yet farther of their Opinions, concerning Toleration of others, from that prophane Fop, Author of *Fiat Lux*, who, in a good humour, professes great kindness to both *Prelatical* and *Puritan Party* ; but that forced fained Part being soon laid down, and he returning to himself, compares them both to the Bond-maid, and her Son *Ismael*, and then nothing less will satisfie him, than, *ejice Ancillam cum Pueris suis*. Out with them both ; Surely that the *Papists* may enter, and have not only free, but alone Possession ! For he adds ; *This is the only remedy and means of Peace.*

But *Bellarmino*, where we above quoted him, gives us not onely his opinion, but reasons, why *Hereticks* may not be suffered,

suffered, which are worth the reciting **Chap. 6.**
 on this occasion. This then is the sub-
 ject of one Chapter, *Non posse conciliari* Bellar. l. 3.
Catholicos cum Hereticis, i. e. *There can* Tom. 2. c. 19.
be no Reconciliation between Catholics,
and Hereticks: And whom he means by
 both, no doubt is to be made. First then
 he begins with *Cassander*, and quarrels
 with, and confutes him; whose opi-
 nion, and design he tells us it was, That
 Princes ought to find out an Expedient
 to reconcile *Catholics*, *Lutherans*, and
Calvinists: and that until this could be
 effected, every one should be permitted
 his Faith; provided he received the
 Scriptures and Apostles Creed. But here-
 in the Cardinal was mistaken: For in
 that Treatise, *De Officio Pii Viri*, &c.
 quoted by him, *Cassander* has neither
 any such words, nor design: but this
 must be rather found in his *Consultati-*
ons; and even there, he doth not pro-
 pound any thing for the Toleration of
 divers Religions, but the reduction of
 Religion to Primitive Rule of Holy
 Scriptures, Interpreted by purest Anti-
 quity, which was the most equal, and
 visible outward means of Reconciling
 Differences. But his Reasons, why nei-
 ther *Lutherans*, nor *Calvinists* ought to
 be Tolerated, because they are such for
 the most part, that War against him-
 self, and Pretenders to Moderation at

Chap. 6. present; we will here set down. First, *because we agree not in the Creed it self.* Secondly, *Lutherans and Calvinists are no true Members of the Church.* Thirdly, *Lutherans and Calvinists differ more than in Rites; in such things as are of greatest moment, and yet not contained in the Creed it self.* 4. *The Holy Fathers, and the Apostles require that we should observe not only the principal, but less Matters.* 5. *If it be free to believe as men please in one point, by the same reason they may be suffered to believe so in others also.* 6. *This is a new opinion of Cassander, and therefore to be suspected.* 7. *This opinion renders the Church altogether obscure and invisible.*

And in his 21th. Chapter propounding this subject, *Passé Hereticos ab Ecclesiâ damnatos temporalibus poenis, etiam morte, multari:* He first tells us how *John Hofs* at the Council of *Constance* affirmed that it was not lawful to deliver incorrigible Hereticks to the Secular Power, and suffer them to be burnt; and how *Luther* affirmed the same, and that it is no new error; for as much as the *Donatists* held the same: after all this he adds, *Contrarium docent omnes Catholici, & aliqui etiam Hæretici: i.e. All Catholicks teach the contrary, and some Hereticks; of which sort is Calvin, who caused Servetus to be burnt at Geneva: and so Aretius caused Valentinus Gentilis*

to be put to death at Berne. You may see Chap. 6. his *Thesis* proved afterward by several places of the Old and New Testament, which I list not here to relate; they are obvious of themselves. Stapleton in his Sermons confirms this saying, *Qui libros Hæreticorum legere, &c.* "They who think it no sin to read Hereticks Books, or suppose they may be suffered safely, consider not what that imports which our Saviour says, *Beware of false Prophets, &c.* And to imprint this the better in our minds, he tells us with great gravity and seriousness, a Tale thus "The Abbot *Cyriacus Presbyter* of *Laura Calamon*, near the River *Jordan*, saw in his sleep the Blessed Virgin pass by his Cell; and being very importunate with her that she would vouchsafe to come in [and surely to take an hard bed] she replied. How can I enter into thy Cell, while thou keepest by thee mine enemy? and so, having said thus, went her way. But he waking, marvelled what this should mean; but at length having ransacked all his Cell, he found two Books of *Nestorius* stitched to a Volume of *Isychius*. Answerable hereunto is the applause given by *Savins* to the Emperours Decree made in the year 1540. for the burning of Hereticks Books; and his own opinion largely deliver'd in justification of such

Staple. Prom.
Moral.
Domin. 7.
post Pento.

Pratum Spi-
ritus. 46.

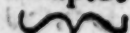
Savins Com-
mentar. ve-
rum gesta-
rum in O. be.
An. 1540.
p. 400.

Chap. 6. punishment towards Hereticks. And though *Guilielmus Parisensis* were a Man of that moderation and gravity in other points, herein he seems to be most severe; saying, *Quicquid contra veram credulitatem est, error est. Consequens igitur est, omnem credulitatem qua communi fidei contradicit, errorem esse impietatis; & ideo gladio & igne exterminandam, i. e. What ever is against true Faith, is an error. From whence it follows, That all belief which is against the common Faith, is an impious error, and to be driven out by fire, and sword.* So that true is that of *Episcopius* to *Wadding* the Jesuite, whom he advises to consider it; The *Romane* Church holds this for an undoubted Axiome according to his confession, and particularly *Rosweden* in his late Treatise of the evil Faith of *Capellus*, that Hereticks are to be put to death, their Books to be burnt, and their Faith to be kept under by eternal silence.

Consideres
deinde Ec-
clesiam Ro-
manam, &c.
Episcop. Re-
spons. ad
Wadding. Ep.
De Regulâ.

But this short taste, of a plentiful table of such stuff as this, may suffice, as to the *Romanists* opinion, which their practices have superabundantly confirmed; of which to speak a little, as it will not be impertinent, so to speak much, altogether superfluous; the whole being put too apparent.

And here we may begin with the *Romish* Inquisition constituted of so much in-

injustice and cruelty as scarce can be Chap.6.
 matched any where. It began, (saith 
Pietro Paolo) after the year One thou- *Pietro Paolo*
 sand two hundred; the principal Inqui- *Histor. In-*
 sitors being the *Dominicans* and *Francis-* *quisit, p.6.*
oans, who sprang up about that time.
 And about the year of Grace, One thou-
 sand two hundred forty four, *Frederick*
 the Second, Emperour, published four
 Edicts at *Padoa*, in favour of the Inqui-
 sitors; whereby obstinate Hereticks were
 to be cast into the Fire; and, such as
 repented, were yet to be kept in Prison
 perpetually. And this Inquisition in
 tract of time hath acquired so much
 strength and fury, that Princes them-
 selves have been subject to it, and op-
 pressed by it, as lamentably appears in
 the sad instance of *Charles* Prince and
 Heir of *Spain*, who upon suspicion only,
 that he favoured Hereticks, falling into
 the Paws of these merciless Lions, was
 put to death against his Father *Philip's*
 will, and endeavour to the contrary; as
Joachimus Vrsinus witnesseth. Yet I *Joac. Vrsin.*
 know there goes a tradition that his *Præfat. ad l.*
 own Father caused his death, upon such *Reginal. Ur-*
 a suspicion: which, if so, the matter is *sin. de In-*
 but little mended as to the extreme ri- *quisitione.*
 gor used by the Inquisitors, and the Ro-
 mane Zealots against Hereticks. Which
 the Duke of *Alva* (that Butcher of
 Christians) further demonstrated in his
 General-

Chap. 6. Generalship over the *Netherlands*, so that he gloried at his Table, that, for the extirpating of Heresie, in the space of six years only, he had caused to be grievously tormented and put to death about Eighteen thousand, besides such as he had destroyed in the War out of hatred, by private murders also, as *Metarannus* writeth. And long before this, In the days of *Innocent* the third, were burnt of the *Albigenses* a Hundred and eighty at one time, as *Bellarmine* testifieth, and justifieth too: But *Baronius* out-vies him: for he saith, that in one day, in the year One thousand one hundred eighty three, in the City of *Burdunx* alone, Seven thousand of them were slain. But anothers report much more surpasses his, affirming that in the year One thousand two hundred and nine, in the same City were slain Sixty thousand *Albigenses*. In the same year, in the Village *Minerva* an hundred and eighty were burnt alive. In the year One thousand two hundred and eleven, Four hundred were burnt at *Pulchra Vallis*. Again, in the same year in *Lavannum*, Eighty were put upon Gibbers. In the same year Eighty of the Nobles were beheaded; neither did they spare the Women. Again, in the year One thousand two hundred and thirteen at *Mirellum* many were cut off by the Sword,

Metarannus
Hist. Belgic. l.
 4. p. 127.
Bellarmin. l. 3.
 c. 12. De
Laicis.
Baronius.
An. 1199.
numb. 33.
Guilielmus
Armon. De
rebus à Phil.
gest. apud
Brugium.

Sword, more consumed in the River, Chap. 6.
 twenty (*Prætorius* saith, Seventy) thousand were slain. In the year One thousand two hundred and nineteen, at *Miranda* were slain 5000. In the year 1236. about fifty were burnt or buried alive. And in the year One thousand two hundred forty two, in a small Village in the Diocess of *Tholouse*, about Two hundred were burned. By all which we see clearly what Execution the Inquisition did, newly then erected. *Sleiden* tells us further of one who was burnt, because he could not approve of all the *Romane Rites*: And *Melancthon* of another, who was burnt in a place not far from *Basile*, because he did eat Flesh. All which agrees perfectly with the definition of Pope *Urban*, who saith, "We do not judge them to be Murderers, who, out of zeal to Catholick Church, shall kill some Excommunicate persons."

See Brevius, Matt. Paris, quoted by Doctor Crac-kenthorp. Defen. Eccle. Angl. Cont. Spalat. c. 18. Sleid. Com. lib. 6. Meminimus loco vicino Basilea crematum esse quendam propter esum carniū. Melancthon Epistola ad Marchianus Ecclesiæ. Caus. 23. q. 5. c. Excommu. Summar. of Relig. p 31.

And in *France* Twenty thousand men were slain in, and about *Paris*, upon the Licence given by the Duke of *Guise*, to root out the *Evangelicks*, as *Sleiden* reports to us. To this, if we adde the inhumane as well as unchristian Fact of *Charles* the ninth of *France*, by whose Connivence and Concurrence, if not command, so many thousands of *Hugonots* were Massacr'd for no other real
 Rea-

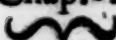
Chap. 6. Reasons, but because they were of *The Religion*; however blushing at the Immanity of the Fact, a pitiful groundless tale was told concerning Plots should have been laid by them; we need proceed no further: For such an intolerable and treacherous piece of Barbarity it was, that our Adversaries, and their Friends that committed the same, have nothing more, or better to answer for it; but that we are too prone to remember it: and they too prone to commit such Butcheries and Inhumanities against them that differ from them in Religion, and are too unwilling to hear of them.

Sir Edwin.
Sandes.
p. 167.

Not long after the First Light of Reformation in *Spain*, were estimated about 20000 of that Profession, and were it not, (saith a diligent Observer of Men and Countries) for the Inquisition, all the Country would soon be overspread with them of the Reformed Religion. In *Sevil* alone were thought to be 12000, who all by the violence and vigilance of the Inquisition have been suppressed and brought to nothing. Let not *Papists* therefore wonder and brag both of their plentiful Harvest they have of late days reaped of Profelytes, by putting their Sickle into our Corn, for, were it so that such remission of Laws, such an indifferency were cherished

cherished and countenanced in Persons, Chap. 6.
 such a permission and favour to Seducers
 were granted, as is apparent hath been
 given to our Adversaries, it would appear
 in a short time in *Spain* and *Italy*,
 what a great difference there would be
 in the success, to the advantage of our
 Religion.

And can any doubt be made, what fa-
 vour or Toleration we are to expect from
Papists here in this Nation; were we in
 the power of their hands, as they either
 are, or might be in ours, how they would
 dispose of us; when it is so unanswer-
 ably evident how intolerably they have
 Persecuted our Religion already in *Eng-
 land*? so that, as one observes, in two of
 the six years Raig of *Queen Mary* only, *Epist. Ant
 Ridleium De
 Cana Domini*
 divers Testimonies and Letters testifie no
 fewer than 800 persons were put to
 most cruel deaths in *England*, for their
 Religion only. How did *Queen Mary*
 (doubtless by the instigation of *Papists*)
 violate the Sacred Bonds of Faithful Pro-
 mises made to the *Suffolk-men*, who assisted *Fox Vol. 3. p.
 15, 17, 18.*
 her effectually to the obtaining the
 Crown, having been assured first by her,
 that she would make no alteration in the
 Religion established by King *Edward*. p. 159.
 But upon her quiet possession Petition-
 ing her to make good her Promise, they
 were repulsed and reproved by such as
 told them, *They were but Members, and
 Members*

Chap. 6. *Members must not Rule their Head, but*
 *obey; and divers of them Imprisoned.*

Moreover she published an Edict prohibiting all books written in behalf of the Reformation. And in *London* every Householder was Commanded to appear before the Alderman of the Ward, and that they should prepare themselves for Shrift, and receive the Sacrament at *Easter*, and that neither they nor their Servants should depart the City until *Easter* was past. And calling a Parliament to advance Popery, so many as were suspected to favour Reformation were turned out of both Houses. These dealings were the beginnings of sorrows, and injustice. And our *Acts and Monuments* of their Bloody minds and hands are such lasting evidences against them, that they have no better way to save their reputation, but by scoffs, and merry Flouts, which with such as are ambitious to be counted Wits, rather than Religious, are of greatest Force. And that Lack-manners and honesty *Parsons* shall be heard upon his scurrilous humor, rather than he, whose Shoos he was unworthy to carry; as to Learning, Fidelity, or Piety. 'Tis not denied what is most colourably objected, that Mr. *Fox*, might set such down for Martyr'd Persons who suffered not. But considering that he, following the Decrees and Sentence of Death publicly

*Vide Acts
 Monum. Vol.
 3. p. 118.*

lickly extant against such persons, together with the time and place determined for that end, might authentickly deliver that for done (though peradventure such things might interpose, between the Lips and the Cup, which might alter Sentence given) which particularly, and precisely to finde out through all *England*, was very hard.

And to write a History, or rather a Tragedy of what was Acted by Rebellions, Treasons, and Conspiracies in King *Edward* the Sixth, Queen *Elizabeth*, and King *James* his days only, for their Religion, were to speak truths most pertinent to our subject, but shameful to such as are of that Communion, and plead for Liberty. How do we wish for no other testimony than that of their own Consciences; how incompatible with Civil Unity and Peace this Design is? how certainly it would turn, and is by them intended for our Ruine and Destruction, as well as their own safety? and we needed not such, and so many sad and invincible Instances of their Irreconcilableness to, and Inconsistency with us, in any co-ordination or equality of Priviledges. How do we wish that men would be so fair, as to stand to their own Hands of outward Practices? And then needed there no curious
Inquiries

Chap. 6. Inquiries into mens judgements, or resolutions: But when mens Cause and Hearts so far fail them, that they dare stand to the Tryal of neither of these, but will have judgement pass on them by the future, which is invisible, and impossible to be known but by what is past; and when neither Pens nor their Swords shall conclude, but a sorry word or two, in their straits, shall be taken for sufficient proof of Natures and Wills; then doth there remain nothing for us to betake our selves to, but our Prayers; and them, not so much that God would keep us in our Religion, but Wits.

Divers are their Papers and Pamphlets, whereby they would amuse such as understand or regard nothing, with the reasonableness of their Religion, and the merits of their Persons; but both the one and the other have been, with all ocular Demonstrations, convicted of the contrary by sober and plain replies made unto them. They *Masquerade* themselves most frequently under the plausible and taking Appellations of Old Cavaliers, and having so disparaged the King and Churches party, they expatriate with strange levity and vain glory in the common place of Self-admiration, and highest commendations, *viz.* What

What Men of parts, and power, and ingenuity, and fortitude of mind, in bearing Persecutions, which have been hitherto nothing but Acts of Grace and Favour. But they tell us not how they laugh in their sleeves at all Proclamations and Laws for their restraint, and banishment of their Seminaries, and Incendiaries; as being secure in the midst of such insignificant thunders, and presumptuous in the midst of their pretended fears. And from truth and sobriety of language are they degenerated in their writings into such frivolous, fallacious, and meer childish humours of throwing compassion, where reason cannot be shaken, that a Man of any insight in the course and causes of things cannot but despise their empty and groundless Apologies. I shall touch but two of their more common pleas, and places for themselves, and so leave them. The one is, That *Papists* are tolerated in divers Parts of *Germany*, in *Holland*, *Switzerland*, in *France*, and I know not where else: as if that were all true which they affirm in this particular; or, as if so much as is true were any whit to our present case. For, neither in the Free Cities in *Germany*, or certain Countries (as they would suggest and persuade against the certain knowledge of the wisest) are either *Papists* tolerated

Chap. 6.

Letter of an
Old Cavalier in York.
Shire to one
in London.

Chap. 6. in Protestant Countries, or Protestants in Popish. But in the first troubles and dissensions (even to civil discords and armings on both sides) an accord was at length made, and composition, That such Churches and Places should belong to Papists, and such to Protestants; so that they never had one over another perfect Dominion, either Ecclesiastical or Civil, from the captives made amongst them; whence it is evident, that the one beareth indeed with the other, but neither gives Toleration to other. And this is the Case chiefly of *France*; where, though the true Sovereign of both be of the *Romish* Church, yet cannot it be said that he freely gives them Toleration, since that was concluded upon when it was not in the King's power to deny, and was ratified in the Agreement, which they of the Religion (as they are called) made with their Prince (whether orderly or irregularly is not now under question) upon the mutual pacification; so that the Laws of that Nation and the constitution thereof do as truly require the inviolable observation thereof on one side as on the other, and secure the Protestants. But our Laws are directly contrary therunto, and the reason hereof is well known to be, the unreasonableness and indomitable malice and mischief of Papists extorting these severe Edicts.

But

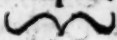
But what if after all this the Protestants in France are not allowed such a Liberty as is here pretended, and was solemnly promised them upon Pacification made? Can these men, though all Face, be so bold as to offer such an Argument which is not true, and if it were true, were not to the purpose, nor answered our Case? But that the Protestants are daily and cruelly and unjustly persecuted by their Enemies the Papists, to the extreme hazard of utter Extirpation, is too apparent from a Treatise to that purpose, and on that Subject, lately published in *Engliss*.

Chap. 6.

Brief relation of the persecutions and sufferings of the Reformed Churches in France.

Ann. 1668.

And in *Holland*, what Toleration have they? Any Legal, or Publick Act of Grace in that behalf, which is pleaded for here? Nothing less: but they and their Religion are at the disposal of Military Officers to repress, or permit, according as gain shall arise to them from a Connivance. And let any indifferent Person judge, whether the Cases be alike: and especially in this, That such as are *Papists* in the *United Provinces* have expended their lives and treasures to bring the *State* to that condition it now enjoys; and surely may with good reason expect some benefit of quiet and ease under the same: On the other side, our *Papists* have perpetually machinated, and to their Power executed Plots and practises per-

Chap. 6.  nicious to our present Government both Civil and Ecclesiastical, and thereby forfeited all Protection of Laws, and common sufferance.

And whereas they never cease, as with the swell'd cheeks of Fame to sound out their own praises for their late adherence to *Charles* the First, in his Wars against the Rebels (which is their Second main Topick for Indulgences;) How do these their Merits melt away, not so much before the Sun, as Candle; shewing these great Flaws in their pretenses, and Insolidities? First, put Case that they had done such singular and signal service (though I think that the Kings Cause was never, in the gross, advanced by the most valiant common Drunkard, or noted *Papist*, through the Scandal given to them of sober Manners, or Religion.) Did they rise in their Allegiance above the duty of Subjects? Again, Were they all on that side? Were they all of that mind? Did none of the *Popish* Faction act to the prejudice of the King? How apparent is it, what a mixture of *Papists* heads there was, in the laying the Design of the Rebellion, as well in *England*, as *Ireland* and *Scotland*? and how Priests of all sorts mingled themselves, disguised in the Parliaments Army, to widen and inflame Differences? There are Treatises extant shewing this, which though peradventure,

See The Fe-
suits Rea-
sons unrea-
sonable.

Ventures may have over-acted their part, Chap. 6. yet so much of reality do they contain, which notably may allay the bragg of unspotted fidelity to their King and Countrey. Bishop *Williams*, in a Treatise he wrote in the heat, and height of Rebellion, tells us upon his own knowledge, that of Fifty, or Sixty Souldiers that billeted in *Adthorp*, there was no less than three or four *Papists* of the Parliaments Army. Add hereunto the idle, as well as treacherous Piece of Mr. *White*, Of Government, whereby he asserted the Right of Rule, belonging only to the Line of our Kings, to him that villainously usurped it, or any one else that could get in, and their faithfulness shrinks into a less compass. And first having said that Jesuitical (though himself be the cap of the Secular Faction of Popish Priests in England) and Puritan Principle, that the People are the proper Spring of all Civil Power; and to this false and rotten'd Ground having added (never proving nor being able to prove in the least) that the Right of Rule of Princes is founded upon pact and promise made between them and the People, he after from hence thus concludes, So that if Nature reacheth only to presupposed and thought on circumstances: and who when he sweareth to a Magistrate expecteth to see him dispossessed

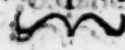
Williams Bishop of Ossory Discovery Mysteries.
pag. 52.

White's Grounds of Obedience.
pag. 132.

Chap. 6. and turned off? So that this is manifest
 ~~~~~ A Magistrate, actually dispossessed, hath no  
 Right to be restored. For, &c. Which  
 Dogm's whether more false and impos-  
 sible, to be made good, or more sedi-  
 tious and turbulent, 'tis hard to say. So  
 that as they neither become one of such  
 reputation for Learning and Judgement  
 amongst his party, much less do they  
 agree with the high boasts of Fidelity  
 and Loyalty made by the Secular and  
 Anti-Jesuitical Faction in reference to  
 our Governours, above the Jesuited. Can  
 any thing be more pernicious to Govern-  
 ment, than to take off the Rule and Right  
 of Obedience from Conscience, and set  
 it on vulgar and private Prudence?  
 Besides, be it true, that they were so ge-  
 nerally Courageous, and Faithful to their  
 King, as is talk'd of; Could no suffici-  
 ent agnition, or remuneration be thought  
 of, but such as turned to the extreme  
 damage of such, as were no less Faithful  
 and Loyal than were they? Or, did they  
 not only purchase glory and benefit to  
 themselves, but misery and undoing to  
 others, by their Merits? They were not  
 (it may be as truly, as boldly said) a-  
 bove the Tenth part of the Kings For-  
 ces. Whence comes it then, that they  
 make more noise than all others? From  
 their generous minds which they boast  
 of? And must the Generality of the  
 Nation



Nation be certainly undone that they Chap.6.  
may receive their just reward? But that  
the whole Nation must in short time  
lose its Religion, and Sacrifice it to  
theirs, is most apparent, out of what  
hath been shewed of their Tenets, and  
Facts, who never rest till they are chief;  
and being Chief, never suffer men of  
another Perswasion to live, so much as  
basely under them. But then, must  
they not be requited and gratified for  
their Acts? Surely, their reward hath  
followed them, in that their Persons  
and Estates have been Rescued out of  
the hands of their, and our Enemies, by  
the favourable Influence of the Kings  
Government; and more they cannot  
modestly contend for. Or, if we should  
grant a Proportion greater to them, than  
any of the Kings Subjects else, might it  
not suffice that they have personal Pri-  
vileges of Preferment, Dignities, or Li-  
berty to themselves; but must their Acts  
so far preponderate all of another Reli-  
gion in the same service with them,  
that they ought to transmit to Posterity  
such rewards; and these immunities  
from Laws must they for their sakes  
be granted to all as are nothing a kin  
to them but by Religion? But consider  
we lastly, with what circumstances, and  
motives, their Loyalties were qualified:  
and we may easily discern that Self-pre-

Chap. 6.  seryation might be as strong an Argument, as was their famed Loyalty. For they saw plainly the Rebel-Houses aimed at their Ruine, and seized their Estates. Had they any more profitable way then left them, or probable, to oppose their Enemies, than by giving Assistance to the King? And when their own Interest might suffice to constrain them to joyn with him, as is frequent for neighbours to assist their weaker Enemies, to prevent a more potent and dangerous Adversary; must this be cryed up, as such incomparable good Service, as can never, nor any other way, be recompensed but by opening a door to our own perdition? When they so cheerfully, and cleerly espouse the Cause of King and Country against their Religious Interest, (as hitherto they have only joyntly with it) it will be much more seasonable and proper to demand such Remunerations (though not so great) as now they expect. But to stretch to such length, breadth, and height their late Actions by Amplifications and Encomiums, as if they could as easily merit Earth, as Heaven, by doing scarce their duty; and to saign themselves even half mad with admiration, and astonishment, that any of the Friends to the King, should yet suspect them of Disloyalty, is but to follow the humour

humour of their Religion, which teaches, Because their Church hath not erred at sometimes, therefore at no time must it be thought for to erre. Which yet, as unreasonable as to all the World it appears, we will engage to comply with them in, when they shall be able to give but the tithe of Instances for their peaceableness and loyalty, as we shall for their Seditions, Treasons, Rebellions, and Conspiracies against all Government not hallowed with their Profession. In a word, never let their unparallel'd confidence in justification of themselves as to Obedience and Loyalty prevail over them, to imagine we will deny our Senses and Experience, and all Record, and Histories to the contrary: For, were there no more ingenious way to put these things out of doubt, we would readily pawn our Heads against their Beards, and our Lives against their meanest Limbs, that so far as writings and actions past can give any proof of future dispositions, and motions, (I do not say a *Papist*, but) *Popery* cannot consist with the Peace of this Nation or Church, as now established, we will undertake to demonstrate; when ever they shall be so bold as to tempt us to put them to so much just and necessary shame. And in truth, this has been so far and fully done, and that lately by others,

**Chap. 6.** others, that were, it my present design  
 (as it is not) to paint them out in their  
 Postures, and Colours, the labour would  
 be unnecessary: This therefore will I  
 leave for them to be still astonished at,  
 and me to prove; That a *Papist*, as a *Pa-  
 pist*, and following the most received and  
 current Doctrine taught, and Presidents  
 set, by that Church, (some I easily  
 grant, as in all other points, may vary  
 somewhat, but they are but few, and  
 contemptible with them) and put in  
 paradise can never be a Loyal Subject,  
 under any Prince nor of the *Romish-  
 Church*, any longer than necessity hum-  
 bles him, and despair of prosperous  
 success keeps him tame. Let us there-  
 fore hear what the other Extreme, the  
*Puritan*, hath to plead for, or rather  
 against, himself; and whether he be a  
 Child of better hopes, who gives us the  
 very same promises with the other, and  
 himself the same praises.

## CHAP. VII.

*The Opinions and Practice of Puritans, directly opposite to that kind of Liberty of Conscience they argue for, and at present desire.*

IT hath been observed by some, that the *Jesuits* and *Puritans* had their Original at the same time, with the difference of one year only. For the *Puritans* began to shew their Head in the year 1536; and the *Jesuits* were admitted at *Rome* in the year 1537. But *Sanderus De Hares. p. 121*  
*Sanders* and *Genebrard* affirm they sprang up in the year 1566. And I have *Genebrardus Chronol.*  
*heard* the Providence of God towards *An. 1566.*  
the Church admired and magnified amongst Foreign Papists, who, at the same time that the Presbyterians arose, stirred up the Jesuits to oppose and counter-mine them. And I find it one of the best popular Arguments in the mouths, and lately in the writings, of Presbyterians, That they ought to be tolerated, and not only so but cherished in this Church, for their singular enmity and opposition to Popery; which, when they are once put down, they give our most needs enter in. For thus speaks one of



**Chap. 7.** no small account with them, *And verily if there were a design to reconcile England to Rome, let all means be used totally to quash the Puritans or Presbyterians; but if England will keep her self pure from Romish abominations, let her be a kind Mother to these her Children; for this Interest is one chief strength of the Reformed Protestant Religion. Thus he.*

*John Corbets  
Interest of  
England.  
p. 46.*

An Argument, as current as it is, this is, consisting equally of Folly and Knavery, as will thus appear. First, because we having found by direful experience that the Presbyterians, as well as the Papists, have not only contrived and conspired against our Churches welfare, but have actually most scandalously and cruelly endeavoured the utter overthrow of the same, and still stick firmly to the same Principles, which instigated them to such unnatural and unjust practises; may not their Argument (as indeed it hath been) be turned thus against them for the Papists? Verily if there be a design to become Presbyterians, then let the Papists be totally quashed; but if *England* will keep her self pure from the Dominations of *Scottish* Presbytery, then let her be kind to the Papists, who have done as much against them as they have against the Papists; thus does the extreme vanity of their Argument appear;



pear; the only course to preserve our selves in peace and unity being to serve them both alike. Again, were it so that by accident (for it cannot be said out of design to the good of our Church) either of them might contribute somewhat to the good of the Church as now established, the rule which *Seneca* gives *Seneca. l. 1. c. 12. de Ira.* us in such cases is not to be neglected, Chap. 7.

*Non ideo vitia recipienda sunt, quia aliquando aliquid boni effecerunt; Evils are not to be admitted, because at certain times they have had some good effect.* So neither ought we to run to Popery for fear of Presbytery, nor run to Presbytery, for fear of Popery. But the way of arguing is likewise very knavish; in that by implication, a wicked slander is cast upon our Church, that it must needs favour Popery, if Puritanism be wholly rejected: But if we deny them such prevaricating Reasonings, we cut them out of all their prime confidences, and take away their most principal and successful Weapons. Therefore, leaving this, let us come neerer to their testimonies against themselves. In which, because they pretend great Reverence to Foreign Divines of the Reformation, it will not be much out of the way to set down one or two of their Authorities against them.

It is well known that *Biza* hath  
Writ-

**Chap. 7.** written a Tractate on purpose, That Magistrates may, and ought to punish Hereticks, which they of his side, who doubt of this point, may turn to, and be convinced. I shall cite this only passage out of him, and so leave him. *Cedò igitur Christus quo jure flagella his corripuit? Quo jure Petrus Annaniam & Sapphiram occidit? Quo jure Paulus Elymam excæcavit? Num Ecclesiastici Ministerii? Minime profecto, &c.* [You that hold that the Magistrate ought not to punish Hereticks.] Tell me I pray, By what Authority did Christ twice take a whip up? By what Authority did Peter put to death Annanias and Sapphira? By what Authority did Paul put out the eyes of Elymas? What, by the Ecclesiastical Ministry? Nothing less truly, unless thou wilt confound Jurisdictions. Therefore was it done by the Authority of the Civil Magistrate: For, there is no third way.

*Petrus Mart.*  
*Loc. Com.*  
*Clas. 2. c. 4.*  
*nu. 32, &c.* *Peter Martyr writeth not only against professed Hereticks, but such as call themselves tender-conscienc'd men too, allowing them toleration no longer than they may receive sufficient instruction; and addeth, Imò neque in ipsis mediis rebus Infirmis est assentiendum, nisi tantisper dum melius ac perfectius doceantur.*

*tur. Ac cum rem, &c.* Yea, neither in things indifferent are we to yield to the weak, unless for a while, until they may be better and more fully instructed: But so soon as they have understood the matter, and yet are doubtful, their Weakness is not to be cherished. Besides, so much ought not to be attributed unto such, as that by our example we should hurt others, and more of the members of Christ. Thus *Martyr*. And it is to us plain (however they must and may be of another opinion) that by giving way to them that thus pretend tender Consciences, we should offend Consciences a great deal better settled, and more to be regarded and valued than theirs, which (as experience from cruel havock, they have made in Church and Commonwealth, assures us) strain at a gnat and swallow a Camel.

And what other course took the *Contraremonstrants* against their Brethren in the *Netherlands*, after the Council of *Dort*, but this; when they refused to submit to the sentence then given? They decreed, That every one should be deprived of all, as well Ecclesiastical as Scholastical offices, who refused to submit punctually to the Acts of the Synod; and, that no man should be admitted to the Ministry for the time to come, who refused to subscribe to the

*All Synod.  
pag. 324.*

*Synodal Re-  
monstrat. in  
Præfat.*

Doctrine

**Chap. 7.** Doctrine there declared, and preach according unto the same: And in pursuance of that final determination; no fewer than two hundred of the Opposite Party, who could not conform to the Acts thereof, were forthwith banished the Country; a Proclamation following them from the Magistrate, That no Man should afford them any help or maintenance. Does not this match for a hair the extremest persecution can at present be objected to the Church against Puritans? Or rather doth it not exceed it?

Bullingerus  
Epist. ad  
Calvin. Epi.  
173. inter  
Calvini  
Epistolas.

Bullinger telleth us with full approbation and commendation, *Dudum D. Urbanus Reginus una cum omnibus Luneburgensibus Ecclesie Ministris, edicto etiam libro Germanico jure divino & humano coerceri Hæreticos, tum etiam jure civili; si non desinant impia, &c. i. e.* Master Urbanus Reginus, together with all the Ministers of Luneberg have lately published a Book in the German Tongue, whereby he sheweth that by the Law of God and Man, and Civil Law too, Hereticks ought to be restrained, if they cease not to scatter wicked Doctrines, or have scatter'd blasphemies against God. And in the same Epistle he telleth us, Not long since Titian, an Italian Anabaptist, an Hebionite, and Helvidian was cast into prison by the three Confederate Countries of Rhetia, and had  
bern

been burnt, had he not made a Recantation; Chap. 7. and yet, notwithstanding that, was whipt by the Court.

And what Calvin's opinion was in this point we needed not inquire further than we are taught from his Fact, principally in causing *Servetus* to be burnt at Geneva. But his Institutions and Epistles, where he is much displeased with good *Melancthon* for straitning the breaches, and qualifying the distempers of both sides; and on the other side, his Book against the *Anabaptists* do clearly shew and prove unto us.

But whoever pleaseth to satisfie himself more fully and particularly concerning the opinions of Foreign Divines in the case of conscience about the granting liberty to scrupulous persons in matters of Indifferency, may consult Monsieur *Durel's* diligent collections of several of them, negatively concluding against liberty in indifferent things, to any or many single persons, contrary to the constitutions of a Church: And in truth, they that contend for the same cannot shew a Church upon earth that indulges so far. So equal and ingenuous are they to tug so undeniably for it of us. But I

*Bilson's Dis-  
ference of  
Christian O-  
bedience  
from, &c.  
pag. 33.*



**Chap. 7.** *strates may compel their Subjects, against their pretended consciences, to Ecclesiastical Orders.*

Who of them can refuse Mr. Cartwright, the Authors of the Admonition compiled in Queen Elizabeths days, and many Supplications to the Parliaments in those days? do not they all run in one strain of abolishing utterly the established Government? and Cartwright in particular excepting against the Common Prayer for permitting the people to depart at the time of Communion; saith,

Thom. Cartwright Reply to Whitgift. p. 117.

*It ought to provide that all those who would withdraw themselves, should be by Ecclesiastical Discipline at all times, and now also under a Godly Prince, by Civil punishment brought to communicate with their Brethren. And this is the Law of God, and this is now, and hath been, the practice of the Churches Reformed, &c.*

And I hope they take not Mr. Perkins to be any of their Enemies, though I think he had too much Learning and Honesty to be a Fautor of such designs and practices as are now on Foot: He, in a certain place, writes thus, *In persecution of the Church by Paul, two points are to be considered, The manner or measure, and accomplishment; the manner is, That he persecuted the Church extremely, or above measure. That which Paul did in his Religion we must do in ours.* His meaning plainly

Perkins on Gal. 1. v. 13, 14 p. 201, & 201. vid.

plainly is, That as *Paul* in a false Religion and Zeal did persecute the true, so we in the true (and surely every man supposes himself of the true Religion) ought to persecute the false. And afterward he hath these words, *The Toleration of two Religions in one Kingdom is the overthrow of Peace.* And in another place of the same Comment upon the *Galatians*, he hath these words, "For this cause, the Jews had but one Temple, one Mercy seat, one High Priest, &c. Hence it follows, that in all Godly Christian Commonwealths, where true Religion is established, there may be no Toleration of any other Religion. For, that which is the end of Gods Laws must likewise be the end of all good Laws, in all Commonwealths and Kingdoms, namely to shut up the people into the unity of one Faith. Thus saith Mr. *Perkins*. And before all these he gives a notable reason for Constraint. For, saith he, The multitude of people amongst us are like Wax, and are fit to take the stamp and impression of any Religion; and it is the Law of the Land, that makes most receive the Gospel, and not Conscience. And as he brings a reason here for constraint, so doth he elsewhere remove an Objection commonly brought against it; which is this, "It may be said, that Faith and

*Id. Galat.*

5. 15.

*Id. Gal. 3 23*

pag. 289.

*Id. Galat.*

1. 6, 7.

Chap. 7. "Conscience are free. I answer (saith  
 1d. Galat. 5. 15. "he) though Faith in the heart, and  
 "and Conscience be free in respect of  
 "mans authority, yet is not the publish-  
 "ing of Faith and Profession of Consci-  
 "ence free in like sort, but it stands sub-  
 "ject to the power of the Magistrate.

Mr. Marshall  
 his Sermon  
 before the  
 House. 1641

But it is time now to descend yet  
 lower to the Doctrine of such who were  
 of the same Confederacy with the pre-  
 sent suers for liberty. In the year of our  
 Lord 1641. Mr. Marshall preached his  
 famous piece on *Numbers* 23. 5. of,  
*Curse ye Meroz*; which speaks nothing  
 less than Toleration of tender Consci-  
 ences (if it be lawful to suppose any  
 conscience can be tender which differs  
 from them) but drives on with a fury  
 them who were not backward to oppress  
 men in their Consciences and Religion.  
 Amongst other things this he leaves  
 with his Auditors, coming to Applica-  
 tion, that being obliged to curse their  
 Adversaries, this Cursing consisted in two  
 things, *Maledicere Verbo*, and *Malefacere*  
*Re*. They were to curse or speak evil of  
 them in Word: And they were to do  
 them mischief in Deed: Which inter-  
 preted by their practice is as much as,  
 Rail on them, and Kill them.

Sam. Fair-  
 cloth Sermon  
 before the  
 House of  
 Commons,  
 April 4.  
 1641.

Mr. Faircloth, preaching in the same  
 year against *Achans* Villany, and *Josuah's*  
 zeal against him, declares much against  
 the

the *Achans* that hindered the intended Chap. 7.  
 Reformation, and the Toleration of the Church-party; yea, against Procrastination of Severities against them; p. 37. Doct. 4. And p. 40, 41. he answereth the Argument of delay taken from *Fabius Maximus*, with Application, 1. of Praise. pag. 44, 45. 2. of Prayer. Then comes he to Motives: It is God's will, you make speed. 2. *Achans* make speed to do hurt. 3. Delay hinders the joy and jubilee of the Church. 4. Ye shall bring blessings to your selves. 5. Justice executed on them, is the only end of all your Prayers. Thus he. Again, 'Tis not Partial Reformation and Execution of Justice upon some offenders will afford us help; except those in Authority extirpate all *Achans*, with Babylonish Garments, Orders, Ceremonies, Castures be rooted out from among us. Again, *Worshippers of Israel*, it lies in you to enquire out this Babylonish company, and to repay them eye for eye, tooth for tooth, burning for burning, ear for ear, liberty for liberty, and blood for blood. Now if they, by an usurped authority acting, taught such zeal against their Superiors; can they hold it unreasonable that Legal authority should proceed according to their own Maxims? But I shall not need to repeat innumerable instances wch might be given of their impatience at the name of Toleration or Moderation, which they

Chap. 7. were wont to brand with the note of  
 Detestable Neutrality. What was that  
 language or design which Cartwright of  
 old taught our late sticklers, but a  
 thorow Reformation? and how did he,  
 and they after him, propound the ex-  
 amples of *Ezekiah, Josiah, and Jehosha-*  
*phat*, for that they made whole and  
 thorow Reformation, &c? And is there  
 any amongst them, or us, so ignorant  
 that knows not what they meant by  
 thorow Reformation? and that in truth,  
 as their Covenants and Actions demon-  
 strated, was nothing else but the utter  
 extirpation of the established Govern-  
 ment and subversion of the Church then,  
 and so constituted. But peradventure  
 they would now for peace sake (and so  
 ought we to) divide and share alike. I  
 know this is the tale they have got at  
 their tongues end now a days, whereby  
 they procure the esteem by some, of Mo-  
 derate Men. But is this with any seri-  
 ous or discerning man a tolerable argu-  
 ment for them, when as never were  
 there any persons so violent, rank, or  
 extreme in their principles, but, when they  
 found it not possible to obtain what  
 their principles, and design impel them  
 to contend for, seem at least satisfied  
 with so much as they can get, though  
 they will no longer rest so than advan-  
 tage shall carry them further. But let us  
 hear

See the  
 Directory.  
 Cartwright  
 Preface to  
 his Reply.



hear what Mr. *Cartwright* spake, when Chap. 7.  
 the Faction was low, against such a peace as now is preferred to us: And you may not only read the same design, but words and arguments exactly in these more modern Reformers, which Mr. *Cartwright* had, and the same spirit acting both him and these, "Peace  
 "(saith he) is commended to us with  
 "these conditions. [If it be possible, if  
 "it lies in us.] Now it is not possible, it  
 "lieth not in us, to conceal the truth;  
 "we can do nothing against it, but for  
 "it. It is a prophane saying of a pro-  
 "phane man, That an unjust peace is bet-  
 "ter than a just War? Who sees not from  
 hence most plainly, that nothing but  
 every thing will satisfie these men? And  
 do they not hold that an unjust peace,  
 whereby they are kept in quiet with-  
 out their discipline? and is not that a  
 just War which is made for its sake?  
 More a great deal (all know) might be  
 added against them from their own  
 mouths and hands; he that still doubts  
 may look into that Treatise called *Evangelium Armatum*; which, though an im-  
 perfect, and indeed an abortive piece in  
 comparison of what was due to such a  
 subject, yet doth sufficiently declare  
 their tempers and constitutions to be a-  
 gainst all mediocrity or compounding  
 of Differences. I have not touched any

*Cartwright's  
 Preface to  
 his Reply.*

Chap. 7. thing therein; nor is that famous Master *Love* the Presbyterian *Martyr* there mentioned (as I remember) or at least, not his Ranting and Railings at the attempted or pretended accommodation to be made by the Presbyterian faction at *Hxbridge*, with the King; nor his Sermon at *Windsor*, where, in the flame of his zeal for the Cause, he exhorted the people to sell their Bibles, and buy Muskets to fight against the King, and being (as he supposed) lead to it by his Text, spake thus, *That if God should go before the King's Party, He should be the greatest sinner upon Earth*: which passage so exorbitant being heard and excepted against by one of the Church of England, he was called to account for speaking irreverently of Mr. *Love*, before the Governour of *Windsor* Castle; but publicly affirming and proving the same to be as he reported, by appeal to many Auditors of his, then present, who could not deny they heard the words; he was rebuked for not making the best construction of what godly men taught. The same Mr. *Love* (so pacifick and charitable a spirit are they acted by) mounting the Scaffold at the Execution of the most Reverend Archbishop of *Canterbury*, put to death to satiate the *Scots* appetite, and such as symbolize with them, after Prelatical blood, with greatest exultation

sultation springing at the sight, uttered these words, *Art thou come Little Will?* I am glad to see thee here, and hope to see the rest of thy Bishop here a while longer. And that most innocent blood being shed on the Stage at his beheading, he took out his Handkerchief and stained it therewith; and the Murder being over he rode with it to *Uxbridge*, and drawing it forth in the presence of divers persons spake thus most triumphantly, *Here is the blood of that proud Prelate; I hope for more of their bloods ere long.* Which Mr. A. F. Commissary to the Earl of Essex hearing said to some then present, and divers elsewhere afterwards, before his death; that he could not believe such a bloody man would die in his bed. And so by the strange and just hand of Providence it came to pass, himself suffered in the very same manner that he had rejoiced to see others. But yet because he made use of the King's name to advance his Presbytery from *Scotland* into *England*; this must be set on the score as an high instance to prove, what good Subjects Presbyterians can be, when their Discipline requires it.

But passing simple authorities and testimonies of Puritans against themselves pleading for Toleration; we may come to a further double self-condernnation of them. And to this end I might insert  
here

Chap. 7. here what hath been so lately reprinted

*A Letter of  
the Ministers  
of London,  
from Sion-  
Colledge to  
the Synod of  
Divines a-  
gainst Tole-  
ration,  
Printed.*

and published of the Presbyterian Brethren of Sion-College, or Ministers of the City of London, to their Brethren of the Synod then at *Westminster*, against Toleration of *Independents*. Which is so pregnant and cutting a way of arguing against them, that I know not what possibly can be urged more justly and reasonably by us, or less answered by them. For I think they will blush (who have not forsworn it) to say, we have any greater or better grounds to tolerate them, than they the *Independents*. For my part, I could never understand they had any Authority over these, or the separation of *Independents* from Presbytery was ever any more a Schisme than the Presbyterians opposition to, or separation from the *Independents*. For, though both of them (I mean some of both Parties) might be said in some sense to be of a Church, neither of them were ever a true Church, as bungled and patched together by their novel imaginations. Yet such was the jealousy and emulation of Presbyterians, that they would by no means have any co-ordinate Faction with their own, suffered.

Again in the year 1644 Decemb. 16. (as appears by Mr. Cranford's *Imprimatur*) another notable and not unlearned Treatise of the Presbyterians was pub-

published against Toleration, with this **Chap. 7.**  
**Title.** *Wholesome severity reconciled With  
 Christian Liberty or the true Resolution of  
 a present Controversie concerning Liberty of  
 Conscience.* Where first, To the Christian  
 Reader, the Anthour thus speaks.

*Shall I add further that all who wish well  
 to the Publique, from Principles either of  
 Religion or Policy, want not here their own  
 temptations; perswading to a Toleration of  
 Sectaries in regard of a necessity of an union  
 against the Common Adversary, and the  
 great Hazard, if not certain, ruine of the  
 Cause by our own Ruptures.*

*Under the fair colours and handsome pre-  
 texts do Sectaries infuse their Poison, I mean  
 their Pernicious, God-provoking, Truth-  
 defacing, Church-ruinating, and State-  
 shaking Toleration.*

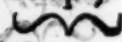
*And immediately before, thus he  
 writes. They cry out for Toleration and  
 Liberty of Conscience, hereby going about,  
 not only themselves, to fish in troubled waters,  
 but to improve at once the manifold advan-  
 tages of Sympathizing with the principles  
 of most part of men amongst us. For as it is  
 a Common Plea and bond of union among  
 all Hereticks and Sectaries, how many soever  
 their divisions and subdivisions be among  
 themselves, yea, they give (in this) the  
 Right hand of Fellowship to the Prelatical,  
 and Malignant party; for they also put in  
 for Liberty of Conscience: and as carnal  
 and*



Chap. 7. and profane men desire nothing more than that they may not be compelled to any religious duty, but permitted to do what seem good in their own eyes: So liberty of Conscience is a sweet and taking word among the less discerning sort of Godly People, newly come out of the house of Bondage, out of the Popish and Prelatical Tyranny: I say The less discerning sort, because those of the Godly, who have their senses exercised to discern good and evil, know that liberty of Heresie and Schisme is no part of the liberty of Conscience, which Christ hath purchased to us at so dear a rate. But is there no Goldenhook and taking bait for the Magistrate? Yes sure. For his part, he is told that he may punish any breach of peace or Civil justice, or a trespass against the State, and against Civil Authority, but yet not put forth his power against any man for Heresie or Schisme, being matters of Religion and Conscience. As if both Politicians and Divines had been in a great Errour when they said, that the end and use of Magistracy is to make Bonum Hominem as well as Bonum Civem, a good man as well as a good Commonwealthis man.

Wholesome  
severity re-  
conciled to,  
Etc. pag. 5.  
pag 6, 7, 8.

Now from his Opinion directly against Toleration of Heretiques and Schismatiques, let us proceed to his reasons against it. The first from Scripture, as Deut. 13. 6, 7, 8, 9, 11. Exod. 22, 20. Deut. 17. 2, 3, 4, 5. Is largely prosecuted and defended.

A Second is taken from several ex- Chap. 7.  
amples, *Exod.* 32. 27. *Josh.* 22. 12. 1 *Kin.* 18. 40, &c.   
pag. 9.

A third Argument is drawn from the  
New Testament, *Rom.* 13. 4, &c. A  
Fourth Argument is drawn from the  
names which Scripture giveth to Here-  
tiques and Sectaries holding forth the ex-  
treme danger of Tolerating, and letting  
them alone. They are called ravening  
Wolves, *Matth.* 7. 15. and grievous  
Wolves, not sparing the Flock, *Act.* 20. 29,  
Theeves, and Robbers, *John* 10. 8. Their  
word eateth as a Canker, *2 Tim.* 2. 17.  
and is as A little Leaven Leavening the  
whole lump, *Gal.* 5. 9. They are Trou-  
blers of *Israel*, *Act.* 15. 24, *Gal.* 5. 12.

12.

14.

Thus far that Authour: Next he  
saith he answereth all the material Ob-  
jections: which in very truth are the  
most and best that are now so confident-  
ly offered by the Presbyterians in be-  
half of themselves. Which I might re-  
peat and refute from themselves; but  
that I favour the Reader, and hold it too  
burdensome to him, and my self, to tran-  
scribe any more of him.

15.

I had once therefore determined, to  
the end that all the World, and espe-  
cially themselves, might stand convicted  
of the unreasonableness of their demands  
and expectations at present, to give the  
summe of their arguments; but consider-  
ing

Chap. 7. ing how small a Treatise that is, and how lately it is come forth, I shall presume that it is already well known. And I shall only give the summ of Mr. Edwards Reasons, famous for his Pieces called the *Gangreen*, wherein he argues strenuously against the Toleration of *Independents* then, and of his own Party now. To prove this then more methodically and strongly, he lays these two general grounds against Toleration. First, says he, Apostolical Practice is against this. Secondly, It causes men to run into the Violation of the constant practice and example of the Church, during all the time of the Apostles: and puts Churches upon practices that are absurd, and unreasonable, and prejudicial to the good of Souls: That Government that is not of Divine Institution, is not to be received: But the *Independent* doth so, saith Mr. Edwards: and we much more justly. But the *Presbyterian* doth so. And we prove it by Mr. Edwards his words followings, They force men to have Ministers and Officers without being Ordained; contrary to the practice of the Churches all along the New Testament: as Act. 6. v. 6. Act 4. v. 23. No man being Ordained Officer of the Church, without Ordination, Let them produce one Instance if they can. Thus M. Edwards. Now M. Edwards being dead, I in his stead challenge any, yea, all the *Presbyterians*,

Edwards  
his Reasons  
against Toleration,  
Anno 1641.

pag. 3. 4.

to give one Instance thorow all the Old, or New-Testament, or the whole Church of God for 1500 years since the Incarnation, that a naked *Presbyter*, or *Priest*, ever Ordained; or, if by highest Usurpation, they did attempt such a thing, at any time, such Ordination was ever accepted, or held good by the Church. But I desire they would find some better ground to prove this, than the Identity of Bishop and *Presbyter* anciently: For First, this is no less doubted of, than that they would prove by it. Secondly, If because *St. Hierome* is thought to have been of that Opinion, (as some take his words) we should suppose, and not grant, that they were so once, it proves nothing now: when it is most certain they are not so, nor have been so, for many hundred years: And therefore men and women both, imposing hands upon their Pastor among *Independents*, if the Ordination of these be condemned by *Presbyterians*; the *Presbyterians* Ordination may altogether be of no account among us.

After this *M. Edwards* proceeds to prove particularly, That Toleration is not to be allowed: And First, from the Vanity and Impertinency of the Texts of Scripture brought to prove it. "For though" (saith he) the Scripture speaks much "for Tolrating and bearing one with  
" another

Chap. 7. "another in many things, both in mat-  
 "ters of Opinion and Practice, as these  
 "places testifie, *Rom.* 14. 1, 2, 3, 5, 13.  
 "14, v. *Rom.* 15. 1, 2, 7. *Ephes.* 4. 23.  
 "*Philip.* 3. v. 15. 16. Yet, when dif-  
 "ferences come either to *Heretic* or  
 "*Schism*, and Points to be maintain'd  
 "by men, so as to trouble and disturb  
 "the Church, then the Scriptures are  
 "express against their Toleration and  
 "sufferance, requiring them who have  
 "Power, to hinder it, as may be seen,  
 "*Revel.* 2. 20. *Tit.* 1. v. 10. *Tit.* 3. 10.  
 "*Gal.* 5. v. 10, 12. and so on. And  
 are not the differences now among us  
 come already to *Schismatical* and *Sedi-*  
*tious Divisions* amongst us? are they then  
 any longer to be Tolerated? Or, were  
 these and the following Reasons, only  
 intended for the use of *Presbytery*, but  
 must lose all their vertue and validity,  
 when that is the Case against which they  
 make directly?

Secondly, he at the same time answers  
 a Principal argument now in great use;  
 and confirms his Thesis thus. "The  
 "Toleration desired will not help to heal  
 "the *Schisms* and *Rents* of this Church,  
 "but will much foment and encrease  
 "them. For whilst some Congregations,  
 "and they accounted of note both for  
 "Ministers and People, will not submit  
 "to the Reformation, and Government  
 "settled



“ settled by Law; this will breed in the Chap. 7.  
 “ Peoples minds many thoughts *ex na-*  
 “ *tura rei*, that this Church is not settled  
 “ according to the word of God, and is  
 “ unlawful, &c. Reasons hereof fol-  
 “ low.

3. “ This Toleration will not only  
 “ breed Divisions and Schisms disturbing  
 “ the Peace of Churches and Towns, by  
 “ setting them, who are of different Fa-  
 “ milies, and more remote Relations  
 “ one against another; but it will un-  
 “ doubtedly cause much Disturbance;  
 “ Discontents, and Divisions between  
 “ the nearest Relations of Husbands and  
 “ Wives, Fathers and Children, Bro-  
 “ thers and Sisters, Masters and Ser-  
 “ vants; the Husband being of one  
 “ Church, and the Wife of ano-  
 “ ther, &c.

4. “ There will be great danger of  
 “ continual Divisions, Distractions, and  
 “ Disputes among us, not only from the  
 “ Different Form of Government and  
 “ Worship in their Churches and ours;  
 “ but from other Doctrines and Pra-  
 “ ctices held by some of them for the  
 “ present.

5. “ The most eminent Ministers of  
 “ this Kingdom for grace, parts, and la-  
 “ bours, can have little assurance of the  
 “ continuance of their Flocks to them,  
 “ if such a Toleration be granted; For

M

“ they

Chap. 7. "they will draw away their People and  
 "admit them into their Churches, and  
 "even gather & encrease their Churches  
 "out of the labors of y<sup>e</sup> best Ministers, &c.

6. "It will be, undoubtedly, a means  
 "and way of their infinite Multiplica-  
 "tion and Encrease; even to encrease  
 "them thirty Fold.

7. "The prime and Fundamental Prin-  
 "ciples of this *Independent* (and like-  
 "wise *Presbyterian*) way, upon which  
 "they erect their Church-way, are very  
 "prejudicial and dangerous, and unuf-  
 "ferable to this Kingdom.

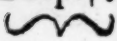
8. These *Independents*, (and much  
 "more *Presbyterian*) men where they  
 "have power, would not give a Tolera-  
 "tion for any other *Ecclesiastical* Go-  
 "vernment, or Churches but in their  
 "own way: They would not suffer  
 "men of other Opinions in Doctrine  
 "and Government, to live within the  
 "bounds of their Patent, though at the  
 "farthest bounds; but have Banished  
 "them, &c.

9. "A Toleration may be demanded  
 "upon the same grounds for all the ri-  
 "gid *Brownists* of the Kingdom, and for  
 "all *Anabaptists*, *Familists*, and other  
 "*Sectaries*, who profess 'tis Conscience  
 "in them.

And thus you have the Heads of the  
*Presbyterian* Reasons in the Words of  
 Mr.

Mr. Edwards: which if they may not Chap. 7.  
 be more strongly turned against them-  
 selves, now moving for Toleration, I  
 must profess my self to understand nei-  
 ther Them, nor their Logick, nor the  
*English* Tongue. But if any be yet so  
 blindly fond, and resolutely opinionated  
 of the equity and fair dealing of the Pres-  
 byterians, & so perswaded their good na-  
 ture will lead them to more moderate  
 counsels and actions, seeing experience  
 especially agreeable to professed princi-  
 ples is the only reasonable way to judge  
 of them, and no experience can possibly  
 be had of what is to come, but only of past  
 things to give present sentence; Let us  
 hear how, not an enemy, but themselves  
 describe themselves by Mr. Calamies  
 mouth. *I am informed by the Commissioners*  
*of Scotland that the Nation of Scotland*  
*are now taking the Covenant, that we took*  
*the Lords day in this City. And you know*  
*that a Scotch-Covenanter is a terrible thing:*  
*You know what mighty things they did by*  
*their last Covenant. You know the name of*  
*a Covenanter, the very name of it did do*  
*wonders. And I am assured by them, that*  
*there is not one Person in the Kingdom of*  
*Scotland that is not a Covenanter, and there*  
*shall not one abide among them that will not*  
*take this Covenant. This is their Do-*  
*ctrine, these have been, and in all proba-*  
*bility are like to be practices, when ever*

*Mr. Calamys*  
*Speech at*  
*Guildhall,*  
*Octob. 6.*  
*1643.*

**Chap. 7.**  Power favours them: what need any stronger Testimonies (if it were possible any could be) against them; or what fairer or equaller Apology can be expected on our part, than having Lawful Authority, as well Civil as Ecclesiastical on our side, to imitate them, and do what they neither had lawful Cause nor Authority to do. And if men will persist in their unseasonable, unreasonable, and unconscionable demands against all these so irrefragable Arguments to the contrary; we have nothing left but our Prayers, Tears, and Confusion, which our notorious Flagrant Sins have brought upon us: And if Authority deserts us with such advantages on our sides, as nothing on Earth can minister greater, nor any Equal Judge require better; we shall easily see from whence this Judgement comes, and why, (not for any wrong in this Case done to our Antagonists) *viz.* because we have sinned, and are come down wonderfully.

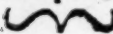
I might here conclude all; but that, as I have disputed against them out of their own mouths and books; so I judge it not Impertinent to shew the insufficiency of their reasons from their answers, or such as they are not wont to question, unless when they are too express against themselves.

## C H A P. VIII.

*Certain Exceptions, which may be made by Puritans against what hath been delivered, answered.*

WE have already prevented the vulgar, and general Refuges made by ignorant and undiscerning men against the way of our Church, and in behalf of their Discipline, taken from the misunderstanding of Tyranny, Extremes, Moderation, and Christian Liberty: with which Notions Seducers are wont to make a great show amongst well-affected, but ill-advised People. We have likewise even now answered that which they offer to the People plausibly in most of their late books, though heretofore we could never wring a syllable from them to that purpose, from the great benefit of the Peace of the Church; out of Mr. Cartwright and Mr. Edwards. And that Objection is likewise removed by Mr. Perkins most clearly, which urges us, that Conscience is Free and cannot be forced. So that there appears not much to remain behind alleged by them, deserving further answer. Yet two, or three things we shall



Chap. 8. add out of them, to the former; and so  
 end.

And First, I foresee it may be Excepted, that our discourse generally runs against grievous *Hereticks*, where we shew the Judgement and Practice of the Ancient Church against them, which will not hold against those of our days and Church, who are no *Hereticks*. To which I thus answer :

First, That according to the sense of the Code, the Laws made against *Hereticks* do comprehend *Schismaticks*, and such as differ from the Church in lesser and lighter matters. *Hereticorum autem vocabulo continentur, & latis adversus eos sanctionibus succumbere debent, qui vel levi argumento a judicio Catholice Religionis & tramite detecti fuerint deviare. i. e. "Under the name of Hereticks, are comprehended and ought to be punished by the Sanctions made against them, all such as are found to swerve in a light matter from the judgement, and path of Catholick Religion. And the fifth General Council at Constantinople doth stigmatize all for Hereticks [Αἵρετικὸς δὲ λέγεται, &c.] who rend themselves from, and set themselves up Synagogues or Conventicles against the Canonical Bishops. And S. Augustine against Cresconius the Donatist styles the Donatists Hereticks, For that they persisted in an old Schisme. And certainly,*

*Cod. lib. 1. Tit. 5. 3.*

*Council. 5. Constantin. Can. 6. Aug. Contra Cresc. Grammat. l. 2. c. 8. Nam & Heretici estis quod vel in Schismate inveterato remanistis, &c.*

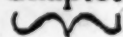
ly, it is but a pittiful Tiffany, thin pallia-  
 tion of Schisme of the foulest nature, to  
 speak against Schisme, (as they do some-  
 times very solemnly) and yet to perfe-  
 vere to Act it: or say, they hold us to  
 be a Church, and can peak into the  
 Church to hear what they think fit of a  
 Sermon, obstinately and stomachfully  
 avoiding the Communion of Prayers,  
 and Celebration of the Eucharist with  
 us, wherein only and properly Commu-  
 nion consisteth. And yet if I should say  
 the Puritanes are direct Hereticks, I  
 should affirm no more than one, whom  
 some suspect but too much inclined to  
 some of their Doctrinal Tenets, have  
 plainly said before me, I mean Learned  
 Dr. Crackenthorp; who writes thus a-  
 gainst the Fugitive Bishop of Spalato;  
*They that are of the Puritane Heresie, are  
 herein properly Aerians; and therefore are  
 properly Hereticks. And such the Church of  
 England confutes as well by Learned  
 writings; as restrains by just punishment,  
 if any be found of it: and yet Thou art  
 not ashamed to affirm that the Church of  
 England is wont to Communicate with  
 Puritanes, and with the Heresie of Puri-  
 tanes. Thus Crackenthorp.*

*Qui in Ha-  
 resi Purita-  
 norum illi  
 verè in hoc  
 Aeriani;  
 ideoq; verè  
 Heretici  
 sunt. Eos Ec-  
 clesia Angli-  
 cana & Scri-  
 ptis iisque  
 doctissimis  
 refutat, & si  
 quando, &c.  
 Cracken-  
 thorp Defen-  
 Eccles. Ang.  
 & cap. 41.  
 num. 4.*

Secondly, They themselves, (as ap-  
 pears plainly by Mr. Edwards his Rea-  
 sons) will no more suffer Schismaticks,  
 (no not their brethren the Independents,

Chap. 8. whom they dare not call *Hereticks*, and who had deserved so well at their hands, (which as yet they never did at ours) than *Hereticks*. 3ly, The practice of the ancient Church, as in part we have shewed, did always persecute Schismaticks as well as *Hereticks*. 4ly, The Pleas and Excuse of our Dissenters are not so allowable in the principle point of Heresie, as are most *Hereticks*. For, there being two Essential parts of Heresie generally received, A Formal part, consisting in the pravity of the mind, and disposition of the heart, and obstinacy of the will; And a Material part, consisting in the Error it self maintained: Men of our Age and Countrey have more of the Formality of *Hereticks*, than they who are direct *Hereticks*: Forasmuch as an *Heretick* erring in Articles of Faith, may be truly said, and allowed to make a conscience of what he (though Erroniously) believes: for being matters of Faith, they are proper Objects of Conscience, whose Sphere is good, and Evil. But they who do not differ, nor dissent (as they say) in Matters of Faith from the Church, but yet keep themselves at a distance from the Authority of the same, may indeed (whether we will or no) call their dissenting by the name of Conscience; but it is well known in reason, or propriety of speech,

Chap.8.



speech, it cannot be so termed; when there not so much as appears Good, or Evil, in the thing it self: And therefore it must of necessity be Resolution not to agree or yield, & that is nothing else but obstinacy, as their own justifications do imply, when being demanded, why they cannot in conscience comply? They (to my knowledge) answer, they cannot do it, *As M. Edwards* said against the Independents, we may say against the *Presbyterians*, viz. That we know not the bottom of their Reformation, nor where it will end, nor what it doth hold, notwithstanding their published confessions, & Catechisms Larger, or Lesser; there being infinite Points, which, like obstructions to a man travailling by Mapps, when they shall come to put in practice, will arise unexpectedly. And besides Mr. *Cartwright*, *Cartwrights Reply to Bishop Whitgift, p. 5.* whom they follow as their Modern Apostle, tells us in their stead, *Certain of the things we stand upon are such, that if every hair of our head were a life, we ought to afford them for the defence of them.* Again, in the same Treatise he reproveth Bishop *Whitgift* for distinguishing between matters of Faith and necessary to Salvation; and Ceremonies Orders and Discipline of the Church; *as though* *Id. p. 14.* (saith he) *matters of Discipline and kind of Government were not matters necessary to* *And Rep'y to the Answer, p. 1.* *Salvation and of Faith.* Are these men

**Chap. 8.** understood, or to be trusted, when they say, they demand only such things as we may easily grant? Will they lay down their lives for them?

In very truth they have made their Father *Cartwright* but too true a Prophet herein. For they have not only nor so much laid down their own Lives, but the Lives of many others, to bring to pass their Discipline; with which they have been so long in travel, and still labour with. And least *Cartwright* alone had not sufficed to have professed Martyrdome for the Cause. Mr. *Calamy* takes up his words upon the same Interest, and says. *This Cause is every ways so just, and every way so honest, and so good, that I may truly say as the Martyr did.* [The Martyr I suppose was *John Ardley* who said so indeed for the true Reformed Faith not for a Faction. See *Fox Art. Mon. Vol. 3. pag. 253.*] *If I had as many Lives, as I have hairs on my head I would be willing to sacrifice all these lives in this Cause.* Thus ye see what meek and peaceable Spirited men these are, and how fair in their Presidents: Who stick not to turn that saying of the Martyr declaring his passiveness and submission to death for the Faith, to justify their Active arms against both Powers: as if it ever had been the

*M. Calamy  
his speech  
at Guild-  
Hall, Oct. 6.  
1643. About  
the Scots  
Advance.*

pur-

purpose or meaning of that or any other Martyr to expose his life, by open hostility, to danger for the Faith it self. How much less then would any good Christian arm and war against a Ceremony or Rite? Or if these be not sufficient warrant to lay down their lives, and make slaughter of others, there must remain somewhat behind and concealed, which will commend and justifie such attempts.

Secondly, They profess that they are ready to come up to us, if we would grant certain light matters.

But with what truth and sincerity let their Actions all along speak, which aimed at nothing less than the ruine and absolute dissolution of our Church. And let *Thomas Cartwright* in the next place tell us in these words, *Indeed it were more safe for us to conform our indifferent Ceremonies to the Turks which are far off, than to the Papists which are so near.* And we well know how altogether Popish we are in our Ceremonies, according to their opinion. And we being as near their Discipline, as they are to our Ceremonies, and Government; may we not as well say, *Indeed it were more safe for us to conform our indifferent Ceremonies to the Heathens, than to the Disciplinarians, which are so near?* And thus ye see, how, according to their princi-

*Id. Reply*

*pag. 102.*



Chap. 8. principles we are like to come to a good agreement, and an happy compoſure, as when they would ſmooth over the matter they diſſemblyingly ſpeak, calling ſmall and new Acquiſitions, Moderation.

Thirdly, They ſay, that Indifferent things ought to remain ſo, and they ought not to be obliged any further than Chriſt and the Scripture binds them.

The firſt part of this argument is as falſe, dangerous, and pernicious to all Churches and all Eccleſiaſtical Authority, as the wit of man can invent any thing; and is quite contrary to Scriptures, which require obedience (as likewiſe themſelves do being in power) to Superiours. And therefore to deny Superiours that wherein only their power is ſeen and exerciſed, is to take away what the Scripture grants them. Now to the ſecond part. Chriſt and the Scripture oblige men to be ſubject in ſuch caſes to men: And Calvin expreſſly ſaith, *Improbare quod nunquam improbavit Deus, nimia eſt homini inquam mortali temeritatis & arrogantia: Hoc autem perpetuo teneamus, uſurpari, &c. i. e.* “To condemn that which God never condemned, is too great raſhneſs “and arrogance for Mortal man. But  
“let

Calvinus  
Aduerſus  
Anaba. p. 27.  
2. in oſt. 20.

Chap. 8.

"let us hold to this constantly, that  
 "the authority of God is usurped, when  
 "that which he hath permitted is con-  
 "demned. And shew where God hath  
 not permitted any one of our Rites, or  
 Ceremonies. And if ye cannot (as we  
 are sure you cannot;) How do ye not  
 take Gods Office out of his hands in  
 condemning that he hath not, being  
 all Private men, and of no authority  
 over us? To this, let us add Mr. Per-  
 kins speaking thus, *Things are not called*  
*Indifferent, because we may use them in-*  
*differentely, or not use them, when we will,*  
*and how we will: but because in them-*  
*selves, or in their own nature they are nei-*  
*ther good, nor evil; and we may again not*  
*use them well, or ill: Furthermore, there*  
*are two things which Restrain the use of*  
*things Indifferent, The Law of Charity,*  
*and the Laws of Men, &c.* And the  
 same Author in another place saith, *Acti-*  
*ons Indifferent in the case of Offence, or E-*  
*dification, cease to be Indifferent, and*  
*come under some Commandment of the Mo-*  
*ral Law.* In which, S. Paul saith, *If*  
*eating Flesh will Offend, &c.* Thus he.  
 Now eating Flesh doth offend at some  
 times, and that not equals, of whom  
 St. Paul speaks, but Superiours; And a  
 man would think, that a sincere con-  
 science ought to have greater regard to  
 these,

Perkins on  
 Gal. 2. v. 3.

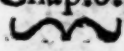
Perkins Ca-  
 ses of Con-  
 science, l. 1.  
 chap. 5.

Chap. 8. these, than to other persons. 4/7, Be-  
cause they see their own acts to re-  
sist so expressly against Toleration, in  
raising and acting one of the most sad  
and unjust Tragedies that ever *England*  
felt; and groaned under; and this prin-  
cipally to introduce a strange Worship,  
contrary to the Laws, and Consciences  
of so many Thousands, and their Supe-  
riours, it not being possible to shake  
this off them, some of them shift thus  
away: That if they did evil, we ought  
not to do so too. For though the  
matter be so gross, that for arguments  
sake they do seem outwardly to re-  
lent, and recede from their injustice,  
and rigour, to the end, they may with  
more confidence demand favour at our  
hands, to whom they could do no  
justice; yet in truth they repent of no-  
thing so much, as that they did not use  
greater extremities towards us, appears by  
their reserving to themselves, all true  
signs and effects of true Repentance:  
For to one another or to the People,  
whom they have grossly misled so far,  
that it is frequent with them to say,  
that they could conform, but that they  
have taught the People otherwise, (an  
imprudent, as well as an ungodly eva-  
sion) they never make any such ac-  
knowledgement: But whereas they,  
upon

Chap. 8.

upon the nature of true Repentance, are obliged to do their plain and utmost endeavours to undeceive, and restore them to the truth; they, on the contrary, use all subtle and secret artifices to nourish such wicked Errours as they have bred in them, while they themselves in close discourse being expostulated with, for the occasion, will say as Mr. Corbet doth, There might be some excess heretofore, by the *Presbyterian* committed. But to the Point: It no ways followeth, that if the *Presbyterians* offended (and that notoriously) in Persecuting deadly the Church, therefore a retaliation of the same measure should be called (as they would have it) revenge, or be unjust. For, waving at present the differences of the causes (which how ever equal and indifferent judges would certainly give against them) they no doubt will to the last keep up disputable; the manner of proceeding and acting make a foul difference. For there was wanting all Legal Authority both Civil and Ecclesiastical, on that side; and yet dreaded they not to impose their pleasures and Innovations both, on their brethren; who were no more subject to them, than were they to these; and also usurped over their Governours too, and brought them either to obey their

Corbet's Interest.

Chap. 8.  their Wills, or suffer their Vengeance: Which was an higher piece of iniquity than that of the *Pope* himself. For as we of this Church were free from his power; so have we nothing to do to give law to him: But these men were in all Lawful and Canonical subjection under those they would give Law unto, as well in Reference to conscience, as civil property. Yet am I not without a Witness of their own against them, even in this Particular. For this reasonably writes one of them, "We declare it, that it is true indeed we cannot come up in all things to their judgement who are over us, as we know they could not come up to ours, when we were advanced over them. As we could not allow them any publick employment, or encouragement, when they could not comply with us, and our Laws, and Constitutions: So we cannot expect any publick employment, or encouragement from them, now we Dissent from them, and cannot close with their Laws and Constitutions, &c. This hath much of Ingenuity, if we compare it with the more common temper of them, which leads them only to take away Liberty from others, but to grant none. But neither must

*Mysteries of  
Godliness  
and no Cab-  
bala. p. 2.*

must we suffer this concession to pass Chap. 8.  
without censure. For according to their  
common and current craft with the  
Ignorant, say they would shuffle and  
confound all Power so, and Lawful Au-  
thority, as that theirs it should fairly  
and fully be, who can lay hold of it  
by Injustice, and retain it by Vio-  
lence: And therefore because once  
indeed, by spoil and rapine, they pos-  
sessed themselves of Power in Church  
and State; do they compare themselves  
with such, upon whom it descends  
fairly and orderly, by the received  
course of known Justice and Religion.  
But grant them this, we grant them al-  
most all: But they must know, there is  
an infinite disparity; which they can  
never remove, though they have put  
fair for it, some of them in resolving,  
First, all Civil-Power, and next, with  
little more insatiation and boldness, all  
Ecclesiastical Government into the  
power of the People; and the power of  
the People, into the power of the  
Sword. So that Person, or those should  
be unquestionably vested in Civil Do-  
minion, and that Society tightly con-  
stituted in Ecclesiastical Rule, who have  
Invaded the same, and are able to hold  
it: A Tenet of which I shall speak no  
more at present than I have already, only  
N that



Chap. 8. that God would give us if not Grace, humane Prudence, and reason so far to judge of, as may draw us to lament and prevent by humble Suits the unavoidable Disasters and Confusions it must again cover the face of that Earth with where it abides; And that God would restore so much of lost man in us, before we pretend to be Christians (and that, of the best sort) as to stand to our own Judgements, and not to alter and vary according to our advantage, and necessities of our espoused Interests; producing quarrels and habbles to Eternity it self, if we could live so long; as they certainly would, who will neither yield to Reason, nor suffer their own Rules and Opinions to take place in them, so as to reduce them to order.

But the solemn and indissoluble band of their League and Covenant, cast upon themselves and others in authority, must by no means be violated; and besides, some Posteriorities are pretended and urged to the great advantage of the Discipline, and these arising from promises made of having regard to tender Consciences upon the entrance of his Majesty into his Throne, and some Disciplinarians great merits.

To the first part of these, it may be reasonably demanded, What that strange sacredness

sacredness is, what unheard-of Excellency it hath, and new divineness, that neither any Oaths or Obligations, wherewith men were bound before, nor any which they have since regularly taken, should be of any force or virtue at all against the Covenant? But what ever went before, is made void by the Covenant, what ever follows is made abortive by the Covenant. How comes this about? Was the authority of the Inventors, or the just power of the propounders, or the divineness and sacredness of the matter such, that this, and none but this, must be of any validity or worth with us? Nothing less sure: For, all these are unanswerable Arguments against it; for, neither circumstance, nor substance was either legal, or just, or holy; as may appear from the infinite falsifications, direct falsities both as to History and Reason, with which that Treatise is fraught to justify it, and confirm men of little conscience and judgement, in that bond of iniquity.

*The Cove-  
nants Pled  
against ab-  
solvers.*

But let their great Casuist *Alexander Henderson* be here admitted to speak, and how easie will it be to resolve this doubt? That King of Blessed Memory, to whom he wrote to his own confusion; object-  
ing against his New Oath the Covenant, his old Oaths taken directly to the contrary at his Coronation, was then answer-

Chap. 8. ed, That the Parliament and people to whom they were made, might free him from such engagements, (not that the King ever made such Oaths otherwise to Parliaments in his sense, but as they are the Peoples Representatives.) Which though, as the King solidly replies, is a false Supposition; yet hereby are evident the principles of Doctors, that Parliaments may lawfully quit the Prince of Oaths taken in reference to the People. Therefore, according to them, the perfect Parliament having not only declared against such Obligations, but by strong reasons manifested the nullity of them; what pretence can they have who are, and always were, but private men in such cases to urge their Sovereign with such burdens and bonds?

But further, The pretended promise was made to tender Consciences. And how doth it appear that the Presbyterians are comprehended under that expression? We absolutely deny the same. And what force can their bare Assertions and Testimonies given of themselves be to prove it; when we have such store of Instances of matter of Fact, which no men of good conscience, much less tender in the received sense, can willingly commit, and much less persevere to justify? But if it must be so, that such a sense of tenderness of conscience must needs

needs be true, because 'tis common and Chap. 8.  
current; How will they not in opening  
that door for themselves ler in such a  
Rabble as they shall have but little joy  
in their possessions? Will they multiply  
beggary proofs, and say, They are a so-  
ber, a godly, a moderate party: and so  
conclude just as much as they did before?

7ly, Some there are who distinguish of  
Hereticks and Schismaticks. For they are  
(say they) either peaceable, or unquiet  
and seditious: The seditious and unquiet  
Heretick or Schismatick (according to  
these) may not be suffered, but the mo-  
dest, and sober, and peaceable ought to  
be born with: and this is *Mentzerus* his  
decision: and the Plea of both Papist and  
Puritan with us at present. For now for-  
sooth, *No such good Subjects as Catholicks.*  
And the *Anabaptist* himself writes at  
large, *Saints no Smilers.* And now go  
round about, enter into the midst of all  
that have been bitter Enemies to the  
King, and you must have as rare luck as he  
that draws a Prize at a Lottery, if you  
can pick out a disloyal subject: In dis-  
course All Factions contend which  
should pretend most Loyalty.

But in answer to this distinction, we  
shall crave leave in like manner to distin-  
guish of Rooks: for some Rooks set  
upon trees, and they pick not up the new-  
sown Corn, and therefore may be born

*Mentzerus*  
*in Exegeti*  
*Augustana*  
*Confess.*  
*Art. 10.*  
*Thom's*  
*Saints no*  
*Smilers.*

**Chap. 8.** with, and not molested; and some Rooks set upon Lands, and they are not to be suffered, for they do hurt to Corn. Just such an one, and so to be favoured is the Heretick and Schismatick. I confess, the distinction had been tolerable; had it been made of the Abstracts, *Schisms*, and *Heresses*. For true it may be, that some of both sorts contain nothing in them turbulent or seditious. But to take this in the Concrete, Schismaticks and Hereticks, is no less ridiculous than we have made it; and no less falsely supposed of them who at present put it into their Pleas, than of any other. And hear we what a Presbyterian further answereth to this. *in M. S. pag. 53, 54.* Tell us that he is not for the Toleration of Sects and Schisms, except only upon this supposition, that the Professors or maintainers of them be otherwise Peaceable in the State, and every way subject to the Laws, and Lawful power of civil Magistrare. I Ans. The experience of former times may make us so wise as to foresee that Heresie and Schism tendeth to the breach of the Civil Peace, and to a Rupture in the State, as well as in the Church, &c. Which is most undeniably true: For as much, as though they are not always actually busie, all Sectaries, in propagating their opinions, yet there is a natural tendency in all Opinionstres, and Sectaries to advance their tenets by all possible means,

Wholesome  
severity re-  
conciled with  
Christian Li-  
berly, p. 13.



means; which when obvious and easie, Chap. 8.  
 they soon call Lawful; and when diffi-  
 cult, they assay by all ways safe to them-  
 selves to render easie. And as to the peace  
 they pretend to be tender of in Church,  
 and Common, it amounts to no more than  
 the Indemnity of themselves in pursuing  
 their ends, which being assured them, they  
 soon expound themselves to have meant  
 by the Commonwealth their own Facci-  
 on; and by the Church, their Schisme.  
 Are not they, think we, of a very gentle,  
 quier, and peaceable Nature and Dispo-  
 sition, who being in power (not else you  
 may be sure) in pursuance of their Schisme,  
 turned out of their Livings but 85 Mini-  
 sters of the 97 Parishes within the Walls  
 of London, whereof 16 died with sorrow,  
 and 14 out of the 16 Parishes, without  
 the Walls; and out of the 10 Out-Pa-  
 rishes 9; and so proportionably, where  
 they were Masters; especially while they  
 retain the very same Principles, whereby  
 they so acted: *Pliny* tells us that the Lion,  
 as fierce a beast as it is, may be made very  
 gentle and tame by severe and seasonable  
 treatments, so that one may suffer it to  
 lick his very flesh; but his tongue being  
 very rough, if in sawning and licking he  
 chances to draw the least blood from a  
 man, together with its slaver, he is so  
 ravish'd with the favouriness of it, that  
 he is put into rage and fury. So in  
 truth,

*Plin. Natur.*

*Hist. l. 11.*

*cap. 37.*

*Leonibus ac*

*Pardis om-*

*nibusq; ge-*

*neris ejus,*

*etiam feli-*

*bis [lingua]*

*imbricata a-*

*speritatis,*

*ac lima si-*

*milis atte-*

*nuasq; tam-*

*bendo, &c,*



**Chap. 8.** *truth, no question but the fiercest Schismatick or Heretick may be brought to a very gentle and familiar condition; but suffer him so have such near access to Majesty, as to but taste the infinite sweets of Power, and Rule; through a secure confidence in his general Innocency, so transported is he beyond his own ordinary, yet unnatural and forced temper, that his Ingenuity will soon end in injustice, and his fairness in fury. And then shall you bag Toleration of him, and be sure to go without it, and that deservedly.*

*Wholsome-severity or Reasons against Toleration, p. 51*

*Eightly. But they be good men, (this is word for word taken from Mr. Edwards) and men of great gifts, and therefore they should be Toleraed to have such Churches, so pisy they should leave the Land and we lose their Prayers.*

*Ans. 1. The better men they be, and the more ables the worse to see up separated Churches; for they will the more endanger the peace of the Kingdom, and make the Schismes greater.*

*2. For their prayers, we may have the benefit of them, as well when they are absent as present, &c.*

*12 pag. 30.*

*Ninthly, If we may not have a Toleration and a Liberty of erecting some Congregations among you, this will force us to leave the Kingdom that we may have the Liberty of our Consciences; and if you do, what cracker is this?*

*Answer.*

Answer. There is no need of a Toleration Chap. 8.  
 for you, and yet no need of forcing you to  
 leave the Kingdom, that you may enjoy your  
 Conscience: and that will appear if you  
 calmly and wisely be content to hear reasons  
 and Principles which you your selves agree  
 to: as namely, you hold that our Churches  
 are true Churches, but Ministers true Mini-  
 sters Ordinance of word & Sacraments true;  
 and that you can partake with us in our Con-  
 gregations in all Ordinances even in coming to  
 the Lords Supper, provided that Scandalous  
 and Ignorant Persons be kept back, and Cer-  
 monies removed. Why then should you desire  
 to set up other Churches as different from  
 ours? &c. Thus that Author.

10. Lastly, I shall only add the Argu-  
 ment used from Antiquity and Practice of  
 the Church. In the account given of the  
 conference about settling Unity at his Ma-  
 jesties command, They object in behalf a  
 Latitude and Liberty a great diversity in  
 the Ancient Church in matters of Religi-  
 on of lesser consequence: as Socrates in  
 particular with some others at large reci-  
 red, inform us: and no dissension, nor de-  
 nial of Communion to those of differing  
 Judgments and Practices. Only proud Vi-  
 ator the Pope went about to exact of o-  
 ther Churches conformity to him and his,  
 in the Observation of Easter. For which he  
 was censured by Irenaeus and others. And  
 besides, this by wise men hath been  
 thought

An Account  
 of Papers  
 that passed  
 between the  
 Commissioners,  
 &c p. 78

Socrates Ec-  
 clestia Hist.

**Chap. 8.** thought to be the source and cause of the Great and many Schisms in the Church, That some Bishops, especially the *Romane*, have been generally too Rigorous in extorting Conformity from other in lighter matters. This is the sum and strength of this greatest shew of Authority on their sides. And scarce any thing is to be found in their late discourses about Toleration, drawn from Antiquity, but it runs on the same Allegations with them quoted in the fore said *Account*.

I shall not need to say how perfidiously that Discourse was published against mutual agreement, that nothing should be made publique of that nature, without the consent of both Parties; and yet how that Pamphlet was put out and scattered abroad to the great prejudice of the Church and with most dishonestly; but like themselves. But to what I have mentioned from thence, it is sufficient to say (for the thing shews it self) that nothing could be wrote more impudently and vainly. For had they not been very big of a little common and obvious reading, not knowing otherwise how to bring it forth, they would never have gone about to make any understanding Reader believe all, or any thing there alledged for several Pages, is awhit to the purpose. For let the most Partial Reader they have, pick  
but

but one of the many Instances given Chap. 8.  
there, which speaks of the same Provin-  
cial Church, and not of Churches under  
several Metropolitans or Patriarchs. Can  
any man be so unreasonable as to make  
any believe, that because the *Alexandrian*  
Churches differed in divers things from  
the *Antiochian*, and both from the *Ro-*  
*man*, and yet without breach of peace  
and union; or that probably the *Galli-*  
*can*, the *Italian*, the *British* Churches  
had Anciently their particular Rites with-  
out animosities envyings or open uncha-  
ritable discords, or imposing one upon  
another, therefore it ought to be so now  
with us of a Church of the same Deno-  
mination, and under the same, as well  
Ecclesiastical as Civil Government? If  
they could shew but one, I say one, In-  
stance, through the whole Christian  
world that any Church did ever permi-  
ter Children to break and crumble into  
several Factions, as they expect ours  
should, they shall say much more than I  
can believe they are able, somewhat to  
the case. This they ought to have done, &  
to have left the other undone. And as to  
the confirmation of their Testimonies,  
viz. That Schisms have sprung from ri-  
gour in things indifferent: It is onely  
true where Persons or Churches in co-  
ordination one to another have presu-  
med against Rules of the Church, and  
con.-

Chap. 8. common Equity, to give their laws to their Equals, and constrain them under pain of exclusion from Communion to submit to their Decrees and Orders. A thing which the Pope was Old Excellent at, and therefore Author of much trouble, many confusions, and Schisms in the Church: and the Presbyterians have rather exceeded, than imitated him herein; endeavouring by all unlawful and unjust means first to waite over the Geneva Rites and form of Discipline into this Nation, and then by violence being themselves subordinate as well single, as assembled, to Lawful Pastors, to impose such their fond and superstitious devices on those God and man had set over them. This is indeed, if any thing, to bring this Church under a Foreign Power; of which they would seem to be sore afraid elsewhere. This is to create Schisms and multiply factions, if any thing. And I pray God of his great mercy to your selves and to this poor Church, which ye have rent and torn, and harrassed, to *make God one and his name one* according to the Scottish sense, open the eyes of your mind, and prick your hearts till they bleed with true repentance and godly sorrow for your unjustice and wickedness in such practices as these; that he may have mercy upon this Church, and your guilty souls, which we know not how they can be saved, had ye



no more sins than such as ye esteem your Chap. 8.  
vertues, without true repentance; any  
more than the scandalous drunkards, un-  
clean persons, and prophane, all who, you  
would make the world believe, are on the  
Churches side, but I do not so believe:  
though I see and lament too much, If mo-  
deration and agreement be the things as  
really and cordially intended as pretend-  
ed, convert your zeal to more sound and  
substantial purpose of Religion, and use  
your best endeavours and Improve your  
greatest Interests, that we may amend our  
wicked lives, and you, your dogms: and  
than surely we shall not differ much, if you  
be so much more righteous than, we, as  
is boldly boasted of.

Some there are of no mean place and  
policy, who advise seriously, to avoid the  
Infamy of Persecuting poor Souls for Re-  
ligion, and let them be Executioners of  
their own Mischief and Ruine: For (say  
they) Let them (for instance the *Qua-*  
*kers*) alone, and in time they will cer-  
tainly destroy one another. Which I may  
easily grant to be true, and yet the Coun-  
sel very weak, and unreasonable. For 'tis  
true, that many religions (shal I call them,  
or S<sup>uperstitions</sup> rather?) now pleading for  
Toleration, would in their progress fall  
foul with themselves, and they devoted to  
them confound one another. And it is  
most probable, if Wild-Beasts were set at  
liberty



**Chap. 8.** liberty from their Pens into some open place they would tear and worrey one another to Pieces, but not till they had put to flight, or devoured their Keepers. It is very likely, that *Phanaticks*, and *Schismatics*, of the same Denomination, would in time Fight out the truth of Religion amongst them, but their Common Enemy (as they call us) must first lye gasping at their Feet. And will it not be a notable Solace to a wise man to foresee, that by casting away his own life for nothing, preparation will be made to destroy his Adversary? Such is the safety in many Religions.

The Decency (to all sober Christians) is answerable to the safety. For as *Lucian* tells how *Ptolemy* Son of *Lagus* King of *Egypt* presented to his People a Black Camel for a Show, a thing, where those Beasts abound most, never seen; and a Man one half of whom was perfect Black, and the other half of his Body very Fair. At the Camel they all stood amazed: but at the Man, most of the beholders burst out into a loud laughter; others in scorn & detestation turned away from such a ridiculous Monster, and reproach to mankind: and yet this person differed not from other men, as to parts, or substance, but Ceremony only, and Accidents: So what ever may be Tolerated, and perhaps admired in matters not of divine concern-

ment

*Lucian*  
Dialog. 2.  
seu *Prometh.*  
pag. 10.  
Πεὶς ὃ ἔ  
ἀνδρωπον  
ὁ μὲν  
πολλοὶ ἐγὼ  
λῶν, οἱ δὲ  
πρὸς αὐτὸν  
τὴν ἐμὴν  
συνήθησαν.

ment and nature in Religion, to exhibit a Church to Christian spectators so most strangely divided and dissonant to it self, though but in things, not Essential, or Substantial to Faith, but circumstances, is to render it ridiculous to one half of the World, the merry sort; and to the other sort, the sober & judicious, odious, and so Scandalous, that few of these will ever yield to become *Profelytes* to it, or carry with it long. And we may be sure, that they whose Policy, rather than Piety, or Prudence incline them to favour such Monstrosities, have nothing so much in their design, as to have us laughed out of the present Religion, and to make way first for All Religions, then for No Religion, and lastly for another Religion. For to encounter which, nothing can be more profitable than by a generous Constancy, to follow and persevere in our own Religion: For then will the sly underminer of it find himself in the end baffled, the impudent opposer ashamed, and the witty scoffer, ridiculous to himself; having nothing else to bear him out but boldness, and multitude of Offenders.

**F I N I S.**